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Tho^s Ruddiman A. M.

B.^t 75.

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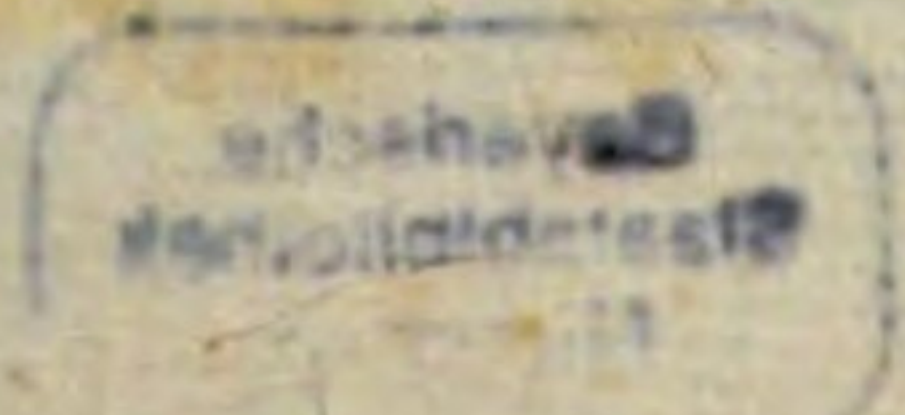
THE
L I F E
OF
THOMAS RUDDIMAN, A. M.
THE KEEPER, *for almost Fifty Years,*
OF THE LIBRARY
BELONGING TO THE
FACULTY OF ADVOCATES AT EDINEBURGH:

To which are subjoined
NEW ANECDOTES OF
BUCHANAN.

BY
GEORGE CHALMERS, F.R.S. S.A.

London:
PRINTED FOR JOHN STOCKDALE, PICCADILLY;
AND WILLIAM LAING, EDINEBURGH.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

I HAVE amused and instructed myself in writing *the Life of Ruddiman*, which I now presume to deliver to the world. But, whether I shall either instruct, or amuse, the reader, it is not for me to determine.

I have endeavoured to preserve the remembrance of a scholar, who, by his labours, promoted the interests of learning, and to protect a character, which, for its probity, may be offered, as an example, to imitation. More leisure, and better talents, than I possess, might have done ampler justice to his memory, by displaying his worth to greater advantage.

This Narrative, I have tried to ornament with such decorations, as I thought would gratify curiosity, and illustrate the subject. There is prefixed a portrait of the venerable
Grammarian,

ADVERTISEMENT.

Grammarian, which was painted by De Nune, who has preserved a striking likeness, though he is not mentioned by Mr. Walpole; and which was engraved by the greatest artist, among the great, in the present day. The original picture is in the house of Ruddiman's son-in-law, James Steuart, esquire, in Saint Andrew's Square, Edinburgh. There is subjoined to this Advertisement a *fac simile* of the hand-writing, and signature, of Ruddiman, at a late period of his age, from his manuscript notes on his *Vindication of Buchanan*. In the Appendix, No. 3, will be found *fac similes* of the subscriptions, of the eminent lawyers, who, in 1710, bore testimony to the merits of their librarian. And, there is added, as a *tail-piece*, the *ticket*, which ascertained Ruddiman's books; and which the late Lord Hailes recommended to my attention as a very ingenious device.

Sept 27 Feb. 1746.

This Work having been printed in
some haste, several Errors have
escaped, partly through inadverten-
cy of the Author, & partly by the
Ignorance or Inattention of the Prin-
ter: I have therefore, since the Pub-
lication of it, read the whole over
with all the Accuracy I could, and
in this interleav'd Copy, mark'd
and corrected all the Faults, even
those that are most minute, that I
could discover.

J. R. Wadiman &

The Portrait of Ruddiman is to face the Title;
and

The Appendix, No. 3, is to follow page 380,
in Signature B b.

THE
L I F E
O F
THOMAS RUDDIMAN, A. M.

THE desire of present praise, or the ambition of posthumous fame, may be considered as the strongest incentives of the human race. While animated by such motives, the student is neither discouraged, by any difficulty, nor overpowered, by whatever labour. Whether he trim the lamp, or rise with the sun, he makes discoveries, that are useful to man, or he composes writings, which, as they instruct by their notices, or please by their elegance, either facilitate the acquirement of knowledge, or smoothe the asperities of life.

He, who in this manner spends his days and nights, in benefiting mankind, is at least entitled to the recollection of posterity. By refusing him this boon, we deprive him of the great incentive of his labour. By withholding the chief reward of

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his toil, we injure the benefactor, who had explained to us some useful quality of matter; we condemn the philologist, who had instructed us in the elements of language; or we disregard the pleasant companion, who had gladdened our melancholy hours.

But, it is the praise of biography, that the literary world are enabled, by its recollections, to discharge a fair debt, without the transfer of property, or the obligation of a loan; to be just, without cost; and to be grateful, without beneficence.

Of the numbers of men, who have benefited our fathers by their studies, and added to the reputation of Great Britain by their learning, few will be found to be better entitled to biographical notice, than Ruddiman, whether we consider the usefulness of his works, the modesty of his nature, or the disinterestedness of his spirit. He too was incited to employ "laborious days," and sleepless nights, by the hope, that posterity would at last award him the justice, which his contemporaries often denied him. The time is now come, when an attempt is made, to fulfil his wish, by endeavouring to state his pretensions, and to estimate his worth. In making this attempt, after abler writers had relinquished the task, it has fallen to my lot, to collect the incidents of his life; in order that his merits may be known, and his example may be followed.

The county of Banff, and the parish of Boyndie,
have

have the credit of Ruddiman's birth. In October 1674, he was born on the farm of Raggel, in the barony of Baldavy, which is situated on the shore of the Murray-firth, near the confluence of the river Dovern, within three miles of the shire-town of Banff.

Margaret Simpson, his mother, was the daughter of Andrew Simpson, who occupied the farm of Little Ratie, in the same parish. His father was James Ruddiman, who was born in the parish of Alva, but removed to the farm of Raggel, which was then the property of Mr. Ogilvy of Baldavy; and which, by one of those changes that are incident to small estates, has since become a part of the possessions of the Earl of Findlater. James Ruddiman was long remembered for his agricultural knowledge, as a farmer, and for his seasonable charity, as a neighbour. He was one of those men, who, with great corporeal powers, possess a tender heart. When he heard of the demise of Charles II. he shed many tears. Such was the attachment to monarchy, which twenty years of anarchial fanaticism had begotten in the nation! His son Thomas, who, when he was only ten years, two months, and nineteen days old, beheld that burst of his father's loyalty, remembered it ever after with a liveliness, which may perhaps have influenced his future conduct. (a)

(a) Ruddiman's *Animadversions on Man*, 1749, p. 10.

Young Ruddiman was initiated in grammar at the parish school of Boyndie, which was distant a mile from his father's dwelling; and which was then taught by George Morison, whom his pupil always praised for his attention and his skill. To this school the boy walked every morning, carrying his daily provisions with him. He is said to have been constantly accompanied by a dog, which, when he had proceeded to the top of Tooting-hillock, the half-way resting-place, always returned home, after partaking of his victuals. This story is still remembered, as if there were in it something supernatural. We may suppose, however, that the excursion was equally agreeable to both parties: and when it was once known, that the dog was to eat at a particular place, at a stated hour, an appropriate allowance was constantly made for him. Whether Ruddiman had a natural fondness for dogs, or whether a particular attachment began, when impressions are easily made, which are long remembered, cannot now be ascertained. He certainly, throughout a long life, had a succession of dogs, which were invariably called *Rascal*; and which, being springing spaniels, ever accompanied him in all his walks. He used with affectionate recollection to entertain his friends with stories of dogs, which all tended to show the fidelity of that useful animal to man.

Meantime the intellect, and memory, and diligence,

gence, of Ruddiman carried him on before the other scholars of the same standing. From Simpson's grammar he learned the rudiments of the Latin language. As he advanced in his philological course, he was first struck with the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. The stories excited his curiosity; and his curiosity was gratified by the stories. The schoolmaster, seeing his eagerness, and knowing his talents, allowed him to press forward, without waiting the tardy progress of slower boys. This example is recorded, that it may be followed. It is remarkable, that Ovid, of all the classics, was the first, and the last, favourite of Ruddiman, as that luscious poet had equally been of Milton. In his youth Ruddiman was charmed with the gaiety of Ovid's fancy, the spriteliness of his wit, with the elegance, and clearness of his language; and during the languor of age, the grammarian was pleased with the purity and flow of his diction, with his moral examples, and with his useful lessons of life. (*b*)

The time came at last, when Ruddiman was to try his strength, on a more conspicuous theatre, against the ablest youths of the North. In October 1690, at the age of sixteen, he left his home, without the knowledge of his father, who, thinking him too young to encounter the obstructions of life, had opposed his design; in order to gain by

(*b*) Vindication of Buchanan, p. 377-8-9.

competition, at the King's college, Aberdeen, a prize, which, our student had heard, was annually given to genius and learning. His sister Agnes put a guinea in his pocket, which being a large contribution, at a needy moment, he always mentioned to her praise, and timely repaid to her offspring.

On the road he is said to have been met near the Starbriggs by gypsies, who stripped him of his cloaths. From this disaster a distinguishing feature of Ruddiman's character began to appear. In the course of an extended life, he constantly evinced, that though a modest, he was a resolute, man; who, relying on the consciousness of his own powers, and the steadiness of his own exertions, was never turned aside, from a fair object, by whatever opposition. At Aberdeen he at length appeared, without friends, or recommendations, or even the decent apparel, which procures a civil reception to strangers.

The village, at the mouth of the Don, had become probably a seat of learning, as early as the removal of the see of the bishop, from Mortlach to Aberdon, in July 1142. It was not, however, till the conclusion of the fifteenth century, that the King's college was here founded by bishop Elphinston, who rose to the highest offices, in the church, and state, by his merits; and whose offices were yet inferior to his worth. The utility of his actions shed a lustre around him, while he lived; and transmitted,

transmitted, after his death, a renown, which will continue resplendent, as long as the usefulness of his establishments shall continue to be felt by his country. The famous Hector Boethius, whom he brought from Paris, was the first principal. John Vaus was the original professor *literarum humaniorum*, who, as he published the first grammatical treatise, may be regarded as the Whittington of Scotland. (c)

What number of scholars assembled at the King's college, under the government of Boethius, or were taught Latin by Vaus; how many were instructed in divinity, or science, during the first fifty years, I am unable to tell. When queen Mary came there, in the course of her northern tour, in 1562, she found only fifteen, or sixteen, students; a paucity, which was doubtless owing to the violences of the Scottish reformation. (d)

This university was soon after violated by the reforms of the regent Murray, who, under the

(c) In primam doctrinalis Alexandrini partem, ab Jod. Bad. Ascensio recognitam Commentarii; ab eodem Ascensio itidem recogniti atque impressi, Paris ab eund. 1522. 4to.

(d) Randolph, the English ambassador, wrote to Cecil, the secretary of state, from Old Aberdeen, the 31st August 1562—"The quene in her progresse is now come as far
 " as Olde Aberdine, the bishop's seat, and whear also the
 " universitie is, or at the least one colledge with fifteen or
 " sixteen scollers. Yt standeth within one mile of the other,
 " which men report to be more beautiful and myche richer."
 [This letter is in the paper-office.]

authority of an act of his own parliament, (*d*) which provided that, “the teacheris of zouth fuld be “tryed be the visitoris of the kirk,” expelled the professors, and appointed a principal.—The new plan of education, which was drawn by the reforming hand of Buchanan, was intended, not for St. Andrew’s alone, but for Glasgow, and for Aberdeen. (*e*) Yet, was it never ratified, as to Aberdeen, either by any act of the legislature, or by the charter of the king.

There were various attempts, indeed, from 1584 to 1597, to obtain the sanction of parliament to this *nova fundatio*, for the King’s college. But, they were all disappointed, in the end, by the address of James Elphinston, who was a lord of session, (*f*) and became the secretary of state; and who, considering these attempts as violences offered to the establishments of his illustrious kinsman, “the founder,” contrived to reject by management what he could not withstand by power. In this manner, did the King’s college escape the pruning-knife of the reformers.

(*d*) 1st. Ja. 6, N^o 11. An. 1567.

(*e*) See in the APPENDIX, N^o 1. a copy, from the records, of the very curious act, “For Reformatioun of the “Universitie of St. Androis.”

(*f*) He was first appointed by the title of Invernochtie, on the 4th of March 1586; and became the Lord President of the Court of Session, on the 1st of March 1605. [Lord Hailes’s Catal. of the Lords of Session, 6-7.]

Fearing

Fearing future reforms, during ages of innovation, the professors of that university obtained from parliament, in 1633, and in 1662, confirmations of the original foundation, which enabled the King's college to confer degrees of every kind, as fully as the universities of Paris, or Bologna, could grant academick honours, as rewards of literary acquisitions.

The reforms, and revolutions, of Scotland had no happy influence on her genius, and literature, during several ages. This sad truth may be sufficiently established by a short enumeration of those, who, by devoting their lives to useful studies, amidst fanaticism and turbulence, would do honour to any country.

Napier having arisen, indeed, towards the end of the sixteenth century, discovered *the logarithms*, (g) with "*secret inventions*," which did little honour to his genius, and proved less useful to mankind. (b) Drummond of Hawthornden, who was born in 1585, and is remem-

(g) The *Mirifici Logarithmorum Canonis Descriptio* was printed by Andro Hart, at Edinburgh, 1614, 4to; and was dedicated to Charles, Prince of Wales.

(b) The *secret inventions* were a *burning mirrour*, a wonderful piece of artillery, a war chariot. "These inventions," says Napier, "besides devices of *sailing under the water*, and stratagems for burning the enemies ships, by the grace of God and works of expert craftsmen, I hope to perform." He died in 1622, without executing his design. [See Martin's Biog. Philosophica.]

bered

bered chiefly for his Poems, applied his fertile genius to the cultivation of natural knowledge and mechanic art; to the discovery of the longitude, and to the making of salt-water fresh. (i)

These philosophers were followed, at a distance, by Sir Thomas Urquhart, who, amid the tumults of the Covenant, published *The Triffotetras*, a trigonometrical treatise, in 1645, and died in 1660, during a paroxysm of laughter, on hearing of the Restoration. James Gregory was born in 1639, and died in 1675, after disputing about the *quadrature of the circle* with Huygens, and contending with Newton about *the nature of light*. (j) David Gregory was born in 1661; and devoting his life to science, which was enriched by his studies, finished his honourable course, in 1710. (k)

George Sinclair, a professor, at Glasgow, published, in 1661, his *Tyrocinia Mathematica*; in 1669, his *Ars nova et magna Gravitatis et Levitatis*; in 1672, his *Hydrostaticks, with Observations on the History of Coal*; in 1683, *Natural Philosophy im-*

(i) See his works, edit. 1711, p. 235.

(j) At the age of twenty-four, he published, in 1663, his work on the construction of Telescopes; in 1667, his *Vera Circuli et Hyperbolæ Quadratura*: and after his death, in 1675, his whole discoveries were published.

(k) He published, at Edinburgh, in 1684, his *Exercitatio Geometrica de Dimensione Figurarum*. His other works were printed after his decease.

proven

proven by new Experiments; and in 1688, "*The Principles of Astronomy and Navigation*." He appears to have employed his days, and nights, in these scientific and useful labours: yet, though he was a man of modest pretensions, he did not escape ridicule. James Gregory, whose talents were debased by envy, published against him, *The great Art of weighing Vanity, being an Examination of George Sinclair's Hydrostaticks*.

Mathew Mackaille, an apothecary at Aberdeen, published, in 1659, *Fons Moffatensis*; in 1664, a *Topographical Description of the Mineral Wells at Moffat*; in 1683, "The Diversity of Salts and "Spirits maintained;" and in 1691, *The Old yet New and true Scripture Theory of the Earth*. To the genius of the two Gregories, and to the studies of Sinclair and Mackaille, succeeded John Keill, who was born in 1671, and James Keill, his brother, who followed him, in 1673. In their philosophical pursuits, they both rose to eminence, and both left writings behind them, which have enrolled their names among the useful cultivators of scientific skill. This list, short as it is, cannot easily be enlarged, if we include only those Scotsmen, who, during the foregoing periods, cultivated, on their native soil, natural knowledge, and the sublimer sciences.

Mean time, the munificence of the North had established, in the universities of Scotland, various foundations, which are there called *Bursaries*; and which,

which, as they amount to nine, or twelve, or fifteen, pounds a year, enable the students, during four terms, to acquire a competent knowledge of Greek, of physicks, and of metaphysicks. In order to gain one of these bursaries by competition, nothing is required but a sufficient acquaintance with Latin. A theme is assigned by the professors to the several competitors; and to him, who exhibits the greatest knowledge of Latinity, is assigned the richest bursary. It is unnecessary to recount, that Ruddiman carried away the prize from the ablest of his opponents, contrary to the expectation of those, who had formed their opinions from first appearances, without waiting for subsequent trials.

His father, being informed of the place, and of the object, of his excursion, hastened to Aberdeen, where he found, that his son had gained an establishment, by his knowledge, and friends, by his conduct. From that epoch, Ruddiman returned seldom to his father's house, and partook little of his father's aid. James Ruddiman had six children, who were born in the following order: Agnes, Thomas (our author), James, John, Walter, and Helen. (1) From the constant needs of

(1) Agnes, marrying one Reid, left a daughter, who, falling into poverty, was relieved by Ruddiman, through the solicitation of Bishop Falconer, in 1751; and George Reid, who, being an inmate with Ruddiman, collected notes for his

of so numerous a family, little indeed could be spared to the eldest son, had he been less able to provide for himself.

In November 1690, Thomas Ruddiman commenced his accademical studies under professor William Black, of whom he always spoke with veneration and kindness. The professor had been diligent to learn most of the philosophy, which was at that time known. Of natural knowledge, he knew what had been recently taught by Grew, Malpighi, and Lewenhoeck. He was accurately informed, with regard to the gravity, and elasticity, of the atmosphere, the theory of pumps, and the uses of the barometer. He was sufficiently acquainted with the solar system, though he had little mathematical science. He had studied, indeed, Des Cartes; he had heard of Locke: yet, he knew nothing of Newton, whose sun, indeed, began only then to appear above the horizon, and to illuminate the tops of the hills, but even, at that epoch, to throw merely a feeble light over

his life, which were found useful, though they be not accurate. James was a farmer at the bog of Montblair, who left two sons, John, who succeeded his father in this farm, and left a daughter, that married George Robertson, a sea-commander; and Walter, who went to Edinburgh, where, becoming a printer, he established the Edinburgh Magazine, and left a son, Thomas, who is now a printer in Edinburgh. John was a farmer at Ellisburn, who died without issue. Walter joined our author, at Edinburgh, and became his partner, as a printer. Of Helen, the youngest daughter, I know nothing.

the

the vallies below. (*m*) Whatsoever he knew, professor Black, was sedulous to teach: (*n*) whatever he taught, Ruddiman was eager to learn.

But, though Ruddiman doubtless performed the tasks, which were assigned him by the professor, he probably followed the bent of his genius, in studying classical learning. His literary labours were at length rewarded by those, who were the proper judges of his merits. And, on the 21st of June 1694, he obtained the degree of Master of Arts, of which he appears to have been always proud. (*o*) His academic honours were conferred after a disputation, which lasted, says the thesis, *ab aurora usque ad vesperam*. Of the fellow-students of Ruddiman two only are remembered. Simon Frazer of Beaufort, who, though he had nearly arrived at manhood, was

(*m*) It was about the year 1685, that David Gregory first introduced the Newtonian philosophy into the public schools at Edinburgh. [Martin's Life of D. Gregory.]

(*n*) The printed thesis, on which Ruddiman and his fellow students maintained a disputation, on the day of their graduations, still remains in the hands of Mr. professor Thomas Gordon, of the King's college, who obligingly communicated the above-mentioned particulars to me, not only as specimens of the knowledge of professor Black, but as a summary of the philosophical course, which he had taught, during the four preceding sessions.

(*o*) This date appears from the College Register, which Mr. professor Thomas Gordon was so good as to search for me.

at the head of every mischief; and who, after he had become Lord Lovat, closed a long life of vicious courses, by public execution. The other was Dunlop, the well-known watchmaker, who being an honefter man, rose to be a more useful citizen.

Ruddiman did not relinquish his studies, when he left the college, though he was not then twenty years of age. His diligence began early, and continued late, in his life. And the first production of his learned industry is an unpublished book, which is entitled *Rhetoricorum libri tres; (p)* and which

(p) This beautiful manuscript, which is in the handwriting of Ruddiman, is now in the possession of the learned and obliging Alexander Brown, the keeper of the advocates library at Edinburgh, who gave me the following account of it:

“ The Prælua take up the first ten pages, at the bottom of the tenth page it is thus written: *Præludiorum*
“ *fnis.*

CICICXCIV. VIII^{mo}.

Kal. Oct. D. L. 8.

P. M.

“ The Text begins on the 11th pag. and is concluded on the 171st. Finis. C

Anno CIC IC XCIV.

VI. Idus Octobreis

8. 9. H. A. M.

Αἰωνίῳ τῷ Θεῷ αἰωνίῳ
Δόξα.

“ The Index Capetum takes up the two last pages and a part of the third. Then follow: Nomina Authorum ex quibus exempla rebus in hoc libro contentis illustrandis,
“ con-

which proves, that before October 1694, he had perused the Latin classics with exemplary application.

Meantime, Ruddiman was engaged, by Robert Young of Auldbar, in the county of Forfar, the great-grandson of Sir Peter Young, who had been the scholastic master of king James, to assist the studies of his son David, whom Ruddiman commends for his gentlemanlike accomplishments. At Auldbar, he probably spent his vacations, in the company of those, whom he always remembered with fond recollection. It was in this retreat, that while he promoted the literary labours of a pupil, he pursued his own. It was in this situation, that hearing, in February 1695, of the decease of Patrick Bellie, the schoolmaster of Laurence Kirk, in the Mearns, he obtained his place, partly by the recommendation of his present patron, though perhaps as much by his own reputation, for diligence, and learning. (*q*)

Ruddiman

“*conducentia deprompsimus, et quo tempore floruerunt.*” [It would appear, that the learned author never made out the promised list.]

(*q*) It has been doubted, whether Ruddiman went from Laurence Kirk to Auldbar, or from Auldbar to Laurence Kirk. The following documents will, I flatter myself, put an end to this doubt.—There is the subjoined inscription on a grave-stone, at the east end of the church of Laurence Kirk:—“Here lies Master Patrick Bellie, schoolmaster, who departed this life, the 20th of February 1695, aged
“ twenty

Ruddiman was in this manner promoted, in April 1695, from being the tutor in a private family to be the master of a public school. At the age of twenty-one, he doubtless hoped from this event for some advancement, in honour, and in profit. He certainly enjoyed the pleasures of change. But, what credit, or what gain, he could expect from teaching the school of a village, which had not yet acquired the honours of a Burgh of Barony, it is not for us to determine. His emoluments could only be small; and his fame could alone be enhanced, by discharging an inconsiderable trust with honest industry.

As early, indeed, as the revival of learning, the parliament of Scotland had enacted, (r)
 “ that barons and freeholders should put
 “ their eldest sons to the grammar school,
 “ ’till they should be founded in Latin, and
 “ thereafter should study the law, for three
 “ years, under the penalty of twenty pounds.”

“ twenty years, five months, and sixteen days.”—There is another grave-stone, in this church-yard, containing a very long Latin inscription, on the body of Alexander Fularton, school-master, who died, in August 1691. The incumbency of these two masters seems to exclude the nomination of Ruddiman, at that period of time, when only he could have been appointed. Ruddiman says himself decisively, “ That
 “ he was schoolmaster at Lawrence Kirk, during three years
 “ and a half, from April 1695 to October 1699.” [A manuscript note on a pamphlet entitled, *A modest Attempt towards a History of the famous W. [illiam] L. [auder.]*

(r) An. 1494. N^o 54.

The legislature meant well, but acted unskillfully. It was not inquired, whether grammar schools had been then established in Scotland, wherein the children of freeholders could have been instructed in Latin. A century and a quarter elapsed, before the several parishes enjoyed the benefit of such schools, for the instruction of youth. It was on the 10th of December 1616, that an act of privy council was passed (*f*) *for establishing schools* in every parish, where children might be taught, at the least to read and write. This was a wide step, had it been perfectly legal. It was, however, confirmed by parliament, in 1633; (*t*) and enforced by additional provisions; for settling a school, with a master, in every parish; and appointing a salary for the schoolmaster, which should not be less than a hundred, nor more than two hundred, marks; to be paid by the proprietors of lands. At an after period, the schoolmasters were subjected, by parliament, to the trial and censure of the presbyteries. (*u*) Such was the salary of Ruddiman, (*v*) and such was the jurif-

(*f*) Appendix to Lord Kaims's Statute Law, N^o 3.

(*t*) Statute 1633. N^o 5.

(*u*) Act 1693. N^o 22.

(*v*) Our grammarian was paid chiefly in corn, which he sold to his uncle William Simpson, who gave him a high price for it, during the dear years, which succeeded the Revolution, when, according to a ten years average, ending with 1699, wheat was worth 16*s.* 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* sterling per Boll, and oats 10*s.* 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* per Boll, taking the highest, the middle, and the lowest, prices of those years.

diction,

dition, to which his talents, and deportment, were subjected by legislators, who had more zeal, than knowledge; and more bustle, than efficiency. Yet, in forming a just estimate of the amount of his income, at the various periods of his life, we ought ever to recollect the past, rather than consider the present. In 1598, the principal master of the high school, at Edinburgh, was allowed an annual salary of one pound, thirteen shillings, and four pence, sterling. In 1709, his salary was settled at sixteen pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence; (w) such was the intermediate progress, both in the depreciation of money, and the difficulty of subsistence.

In Edinburgh, it must be acknowledged, there existed, at the revival of learning, a grammar school, which has continued to increase in usefulness, and in fame, from that happy epoch to the present times, under the well known name of *The High-School*. This may be considered as *The Saint Paul's* of Edinburgh. The magistrates of that city appear to have watched over this valuable institution with jealous attention, though their well-meaningness hath been, at times, betrayed, by their ardour. Their records contain the following specimen of their sentiments, and their language:—" 10th January 1519: The
 " quhilk day, the provost, baillies, and counfall,

(w) Mait. Hist. of Edinburgh, which quotes the records of the city.

“ statuts and ordains for reasonable cause moving
 “ þaime þat na maner of neighbour nor indweller
 “ w'in þis burt [burgh] put their bairins till ony
 “ p̃ticulare scule within þis toun but to þe prin-
 “ cipal grammer scule of the samyn to be teichit
 “ in ony science bot alanerlie *grace buke*, *prymar*,
 “ and *plane donat*, under the pane of X sh: to be
 “ tane of ilk ny'bo' [neighbour] þet breke, or dois
 “ in þe contrair heirof.” (x) — The *Prymar*, and
 the *Plane Donat*, were the grammars, it appears,
 which were first used in the greater schools of
 Scotland, (y) as they had equally been in Eng-
 land. *The Donat* had the honour to be printed
 by Caxton, and by Faust.

But,

(x) The *Donat*, which is mentioned in this record, was a gram-
mar: from Donatus, a celebrated grammarian, who was the
 preceptor of St. Jerome, and lived at Rome, in the year of
 the Christian æra 354. By an easy transition, the *Donat*
 came to signify *the Elements* of any art. — “ Then drave I me
 “ among Drapers, my *Donat* to lerne,” said Chaucer. —
 [Tyrwhit's Glossary.] — Wintown, who may be considered
 as the contemporary of Chaucer, has the following passage,
 with regard to the use of *the Donat*, in the seminaries of
 Scotland, during his time.

[Wyntownis Cronykil; B. v. c. x. l. 704.]

“ Donate ðan wes [354] in his state,
 “ And in ðat tyme hys libell wrate,
 “ Ðat now Barnys oysys to lere
 “ At ðaire begynnyng of gramere:
 “ And Saynct Jerome in ðái yheris
 “ Ðe best wes callyd of his scoleris.”

(y) On the 14th of January 1567-8 Robert Leckpreuick
 was empowered, by writ of privy seal, to print exclusively,
 The

But, as knowledge became more diffused, the judgment was no longer satisfied with philological institutes, which could have only been used, in the infancy of letters. The grammar of Despauter was adopted in the North, as soon as it was seen, and long kept possession of the Scottish seminaries. Despauter was a laborious grammarian of the sixteenth century, who, after teaching at Louvain, Boisle Duc, and at other places, and diligently cultivating the Latin language, died at Comines, in 1520. (2) The grammar of that great philologist was in some measure superseded by the *Rudimenta grammatices* of Andrew Simpson, who was first the schoolmaster, (a) and afterwards the minister of Dunbar. His work was first printed at Edinburgh, in 1587. (b) A clear proof of the popular

The “ buikes callit *Donatus pro Pueris, Rudimentis of Pelisso*,
 “ togedder with the gramer to be set furth callit the general
 “ gramer to be usid within scolis of this realme for erudi-
 “ tioun of the zouth.” Such were the popular school-books at that epoch!

(2) The *Despauterij Rudimenta* was first printed by Schuren, at Strasburgh, in 1512. The *Syntaxis Despauterij* was printed, in the same house, 1515. The *Orthographiæ Præcepta Despauterij* was printed at Antwerp, by Hillen, in 1521.

(a) Simpson had the honour of teaching the Latin language to David Hume of Wedderburn, who addressed to his old master one of his elegies. Vid. *Humii Poemata*, p. 11. and Simpson addressed, *Ad Comitem Fermelodunensem Carmen*, which was printed at Edinburgh, in 1610, 4to.

(b) Robert Smyth was empowered, in 1599, by writ of privy seal, to print “ The plain Donat, The hail four pairtis

popular demand for books is the solicitations of the printers, for the exclusive right to print them. (c) The Rudiments of Simpson was so grateful to the youth, that it was long the only institute, which was much studied in the Scottish schools. It was generally used, while Ruddiman was a boy. And there is reason to believe, that while Ruddiman was the master of Laurence Kirk, he taught the *Rudimenta Grammatices* of Simpson, as the most useful grammar, which had then been introduced into the seminaries of his country.

Mean time, various schoolmasters adopted different grammars, as they were prompted by their caprice, or directed by their judgments. The youth, as they were often driven from place to place by the plague, or sometimes withdrawn by the fondness of parents, were obstructed in their acquirements of knowledge, by the variety of rules, which the several masters thought proper to teach.

“ of grammar, according to Sebaustiane, the Dialogues of Corderius, the familiar Epistillis of Cecero, the second *Rudimentis* of Dunbar, the first *Rudimentis* of Dunbar, the Feabillis of Æsopæ.”—There was an edition of the Rudiments of Dunbar, by Andro Hart, in 1612; by Bryson, in 1639; by the Stationers, in 1660; by John Reid, in 1680; and by John Moncur, in 1709. These editions were all printed in 8vo. at Edinburgh.

(c) On the 17th of June 1606, Thomas Finlayfone was empowered, by writ of privy seal, to print exclusively, “ The first, and second, Dunbar Rudimentis, and Corderius’s Colloquies.”

The

The legislature at length interposed. (*d*) In imitation of Henry VIII. who exerted his power to introduce uniformity of teaching, the parliament of Scotland authorized, in 1607, as Henry had done, in 1545, proper commissioners, for settling "*the most approven grammar*," which, "*being prentit*" "*fuld n all tyme cumming be univervallie*" "*teachit, in all the pairtis of this realme, by the*" "*haill teacheares of grammar.*" (*e*) The good intention of the legislature appears to have been attended, in 1607, with as little success, as it had been, at any former period. The parliamentary commissioners appointed the new grammar of Alexander Hume to be taught, in the schools of Scotland, (*f*) without establishing at last uniformity of teaching; so difficult is it to settle what depends on the changes of caprice by legislative authority.

David Wedderburne, the master of the grammar school of Aberdeen, who had been the instructor of Arthur Johnston, and was a contri-

(*d*) In Glendock's Acts, p. 364, there is mention of an unprinted act "*for ane grammer. to be univervalle teachit,*" An. 1597. 15 Ja. 6. But, this act could not, upon the most careful search, be found among the records!

(*e*) See the APPENDIX, N^o 2. for "*The Commissioun anent Grammer and Teacheris thereof.*"

(*f*) Humij (Alex.) Grammatica Nova in usum juventutis Scotiæ, et Auctoritate Senatus omnibus regni Scholis imperata.—Edinb. 1612. 8vo.

butor to the *Deliciæ Poetarum Scotorum*, (g) applied to parliament, in the year 1633; “desiring that the
 “short and facile grammar drawin up be him might
 “be allowit and ordainit to be taught through
 “all the schooles of the kingdome, and all other
 “grammars dischargit to be taught within the
 “myne.” Wedderburne’s *Short Introduction to Grammar* was printed, at Aberdeen, in 1632. He appears not to have obtained the monopoly, which his vanity, or his avarice, demanded. Other schoolmasters successfully contested with him the palm of philology. And, several grammars were introduced into general use, by private caprice, rather than by public authority, till the general approbation finally adopted *Ruddiman’s Rudiments*, without the aid of parliamentary sanction.

In the mean time, Ruddiman, for three years and a half, spent his days, in teaching the boys of Laurence Kirk the rules of grammar, and his nights, in instructing himself in the niceties of classical learning. In the retirement of this village, his diligence naturally pursued the precept, which his reading had taught him:—

“Exerce studium, quamvis perceperis artem.”

It was towards the end of the year 1699, that an accident opened new prospects to his penetrating sight. The celebrated Dr. Pitcairne, being

(g) See the 2d vol. p. 544; and, *The Parerga Johnstoni*, Aberd. 1632, p. 37.

detained by violence of weather, at this inconsiderable hamlet, which had not yet a library at the inn, felt the misery of having nothing to do. (*b*) Wanting society, he inquired, if there were no person in the village, who could interchange conversation, and would partake of his dinner. The hostess informed him, that the schoolmaster, though young, was said to be learned, and though modest, she was sure, could talk. Thus met Pitcairne, at the age of forty-seven, with Ruddiman, at twenty-five. Their literature, their politics, and their general cast of mind, were mutually pleasing to each other. Pitcairne invited Ruddiman to Edinburgh, offered him his patronage, and performed, in the end, what is not always experienced, as much as he originally promised.

Of that illustrious physician, the biographers have been more diligent to trace the antiquity of his race, than careful to tell us the name of his father. He was undoubtedly sprung from the family of Pitcairne, in Fife, which is itself a branch of the stock of Forthar, in the same shire. His father was Alexander Pitcairne, a trader, and

(*b*) See Mr. Boswell's *Tour*, p. 75.—Dr. Johnson insisted on stopping at the inn, at Laurence Kirk, when I told him that Lord Gardenston had furnished it with a collection of books, that travellers might have entertainment for the mind as well as the body. The doctor praised the design; but wished there had been more books, and those better chosen.

a magistrate, of Edinburgh; his mother was a Sydserf of the family of Ruthlaw, in the county of Lothian: and he was born, in that city, on the 25th December 1652.

The school of Dalkieth had the honour of teaching Pitcairne the elements of language. In 1668, he entered the university of Edinburgh, where, studying philosophy under professor William Paterson, he obtained his Master of Arts degree, in 1671, the same year, wherein his father acted as baillie of Edinburgh. Pitcairne seems now to have gratified himself with the delights of promiscuous study, till fixing on the law, he pursued it with such activity as to lose his health. Being advised by the physicians to seek abroad for what he had thus lost at home, he went to Paris; where, becoming enamoured of physick, he forsook the law. His father, disapproving of this youthful unsteadiness, which could lead to no profitable profession, soon recalled him. Becoming acquainted, on his return, with professor David Gregory, he attached himself to the study of the mathematics, which pursuing with predetermined ardour, he made some improvements in the method of *Infinite Series*, which had been then lately invented. And, seeing, as the biographers assure us, some necessary connection between physick and geometry, he finally fixed on physick for his profession.

But, at Edinburgh, there was then no other
medical

medical school than the chambers of the sick, and the shops of the practitioners. And, in 1675, he again repaired to the seat of science, at Paris, where, genius and diligence uniting together, he advanced with rapid progress in his professional career. He appears to have studied physic historically, in order to trace the knowledge of the antients, that he might perceive the discoveries of the moderns. On the 13th of August 1680, he received the degree of Doctor in Medicine, from the faculty at Rheims. And, returning soon after to Edinburgh, in order to practise the healing art, which he had thus acquired, he was named among the persons, who were then the most eminent for medical knowledge, in the patent, that instituted the Royal College of Physicians, in his native city, on the 29th of November 1681.

Being at last settled in practice, he ere long rose to the heights and profits of his profession. While walking on these eminences, he cast his eyes on Margaret, the daughter of Colonel James Hay, of Pitfour, whom he married, and by whom he had a son, and a daughter. A few years deprived him successively of his children, and his wife, to whom he addressed an affectionate copy of Latin verses. He continued, however, to augment his practice, with great diligence, and to extend his fame, with uncommon success. And, with design to promote both, he published, in
1688,

1688, his *Solutio Problematis de Inventoribus*. In this treatise, he zealously asserted the right of Harvey to the discovery of the circulation of the blood, who thereby laid the foundation for the mechanic principles of physic, which, in this country, Pitcairne first brought into vogue. In the midst of his success, *the Revolution* gave him irreconcilable chagrin. His loyalty, which was hereditary in his family, saw none of those causes of *forfaulture*, which *the Convention* had found in the misconduct of King James. He deplored the state of Scotland in Latin verse: He wrote the charming lines, which Dryden translated with a similar spirit, on the death of Lord Dundee, in the moment of victory, at the battle of Killcranky, in 1689. This disgust made Pitcairne more easily accept an invitation from the curators of the university of Leyden to be professor of physic, in that illustrious seminary.

It was on the 26th of April 1692, that he pronounced his inaugural oration, in which he explained the best mode of improving physic. Whatever celebrity he gained, on that occasion, acute observers remarked, that it is always an easier task to destroy old foundations, than to erect a new fabric. And, Boërhaave, who, when he speaks on the best method of studying physic, has an indisputable right to an attentive hearing, gave it as his opinion that, except as to the circulation of the blood, Pitcairne assumed too much,

much, by allowing his fancy to impose upon his judgment.

When Pitcairne departed to Leyden, he left his love at Edinburgh. And, returning, in 1693, he married Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir Archibald Stevenson, who was one of the King's physicians, and who was honoured by Pitcairne with some copies of verses. This lady brought him several children, and much felicity. The same cause, which had induced Pitcairne to return to his native city, now obliged him to stay, though he regretted the deprivation of his professorship, while Leyden equally lamented the loss of her professor.

At this epoch of his life, Pitcairne renewed with augmented success, his practice at Edinburgh. He continued to divert himself, and his friends, with Latin poetry, in which he is allowed to have equalled the best of the moderns. He wrote verses in praise of Newton, before Newton had risen superior to praise. Yet, has it been truly said, that Pitcairne spoke contemptuously of other men, who, with less learning indeed, were yet intitled to justice. In 1696, he fell upon Sir Robert Sibbald, who has deserved well of the antiquarian world, and who had contributed more to the progress of knowledge, by his diligence, had his judgment been equal to his learning. What provocation he had, or what apology he made, for assaulting Sir Robert's *Prodromus*, in
his

his *Dissertatio de legibus Historiæ Naturalis*, cannot now be known. (i) The biographers speak upon the point, as if they either knew not the truth, or chose not to tell it. With this speck on his personal character, he rose to be the first physician of his country, in his time. The university of Aberdeen conferred upon him the degree of Doctor, on the 7th of August 1699. And the surgeons of Edinburgh invited him to be a member of their college, on the 16th of October 1701; an honour, which no other physician has ever enjoyed. (k) Such was Pitcairne, when he saw Rudiman

(i) Of this tract, which is in my collection, the following is the title-page: "Archibaldi Pitcarnij Dissertatio, de
"Legibus Historiæ Naturalis. Edinburgi, Typis Joannis
"Reid, et Sumptibus Thomæ Carruthers, apud quem Veniunt. Anno Dom. 1696." It is not, then, anonymous, as some suppose; and it seems impossible, that Pitcairne, could have disavowed, as other biographers assert, what was openly printed, at the place of his residence.

(k) In the British Museum, there is the original sketch of the life of Pitcairne, which was inserted in the *Biographia Britannica*; and which had been sent to Doctor Birch by Doctor John Clerk of Edinburgh, on the 7th of September 1738. [MSS. Birch No. 4223.] There is a collection of letters from Pitcairne to Doctor Robert Grey of London, in MSS. Sloan No. 3216. These letters are very instructive, very animated, and very humorous. On the 14th of October 1694, he informed Doctor Grey of his being very busy in seeking a liberty from the town council of Edinburgh to open the bodies of those poor persons, who die in *Paul's-Work* and have none to own them. "We offer," says he, "to
"wait

diman in the obscurity of Lawrence Kirk, distinguished his worth, and placed him in a better light, at Edinburgh.

When Ruddiman came to that city, in 1700, he found it inhabited by thirty thousand people, who were divided by faction, without being invigorated by rivalry. Edinburgh, without enjoying the comforts of elegance, did not then pretend to the gaieties of splendour. Her youth were instructed at a grammar school, which, in early times, had been erected within her walls. It was from the bounty of King James, that she derived the illuminations of an university, which, in 1700, did not however teach professedly the sciences of physic, or of law. And she had, since the year 1532, had the presence of a College of Justice,

“ wait on these poor, for nothing, and bury them after dis-
“ section, at our own charges, which now the town does ;
“ yet, there is great opposition by the chief surgeons, who
“ neither eat hay, nor suffer the oxen to eat it. I do pro-
“ pose, if this be granted, to make better improvements in
“ anatomy, than have been made at Leyden these thirty
“ years : For, I think most or all anatomists have neglected,
“ or not known, what was most useful for a physician.” On
the 15th of October 1694, the town council complied with
that request of Pitcairne ; and thereby laid the foundation
stone of the great school of physic, in that city. Pitcairne
says, that they did not then know how to treat the small-
pox : and he laughs immoderately at two of the Edinburgh
physicians, whom he names, for having killed Sir Robert
Sibbald’s daughter, who died of that disease. The *Praxis*
Pitcarnij may be seen in Sloan MSS. No. 2582.

which

which distributed right, in the shape of system, and at length formed a faculty of lawyers.

The year 1682 may be considered, as the epoch of the establishment of *The Advocates Library*, which naturally attracted Ruddiman, though for some months, after his arrival, he had not a formal engagement in it. Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, who was born, in 1636, and died, in 1691, after rising to the head of his profession, as a lawyer, and to eminence in literature, as a scholar, is entitled to the honour of founding that useful collection of law, history, and science. He it was, who projected this library; it was he, who, at the foundation of it, pronounced an inaugural oration, displaying its advantages, and suggesting its improvement; it was he, who shewed an example to others, by making it several donations. Like other establishments, its commencement was inconsiderable; its funds were uncertain; and its progress in utility was slow. But, frequent contributions augmented its numerous volumes, both printed, and manuscript. And, a settled fund for the uses of the library was at length established. As every advocate, on his admission to the honours and profits of the profession, was obliged to pay a certain sum, *the faculty of advocates* appropriated a part of this *admission-money* to the augmentation of their books. When Ruddiman was first admitted into *The Advocates library*, it was kept in Mills-Square. And the librarian, at this æra, was Mr. Stevenson.

son. (l) When Ruddiman had yet no settled engagement there, he employed himself in arranging books, copying papers, and in making extracts from interesting authors. (m) Ruddiman, with all his propension to study, seems to have been fond of matrimony, either from a desire of the society, it gives, or from a conviction of the usefulness, it brings. In 1701, he married for his first wife, Barbara Scollay, the daughter of Scollay of Oatness, a gentleman of a small estate, in the Orkney islands. She brought him a good connection, but little fortune.

It was at the end of twenty years, from its first foundation, that Ruddiman became formally connected with *The Advocates Library*, at the age of twenty-eight. On the 2d of May 1702, he made his first entry, as assistant librarian. On the 22d, and 23d, of the same month, the library was removed from Mill's Square to the under parliament house, where it still unhappily remains. Mr. Stevenson died, on the 22d of July 1702; and Mr. John Spottiswoode, who is still remembered

(l) Ruddiman's pocket-book, which was communicated to me; and which contains, in his own hand-writing, many curious particulars of his earliest transactions at Edinburgh, from the 2d of May 1702.

(m) In a manuscript list of his library, entitled "*Bibliotheca Ruddimanniana*," there is the following entry:—
"A book of Excerptions out of several authors, made by
"Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, from 22d November 1701, to
"27 January 1702—MS. 4to."

for his valuable publications, (*n*) and personal worth, was appointed the overseer, till January 1703.

The Spottiswoodes of Spottiswoode, in Berwickshire, are a very ancient family, which has given an archbishop and a chancellor, eminent statesmen, and brave warriors, to Scotland. The son of the archbishop, Sir Robert Spottiswoode, the lord president of the court of session, (*o*) died on the scaffold, on the 20th January 1646, for his adherence to his sovereign, during the civil wars, and for his attachment to the laws. His son Alexander, having inherited the principles, and profession of his father, fought with Charles II. at the unfortunate battle of Worcester, and

(*n*) 1. His speech at the election of representatives in parliament for the shire of Berwick, 1702. 4to.

2. He published *Practiques of the Law of Scotland*, by Sir Robert Spottiswoode, with *Memoirs of his Life*. Edinburgh, 1706. folio.

3. *An Introduction to the Knowledge of the Style of Writs*, made use of in Scotland, Edinburgh, 1708. 4to.

4. *The Law concerning the Election of Members of Parliament*, to sit and vote in the Parliament of Great Britain. Edinburgh, 1710. 4to.

5. *The Form of Process before the Lords of Session*. To which was prefixed the present State of the College of Justice. Edinburgh, in 1711. 8vo.

(*o*) He was appointed a lord of session by the title of lord New Abbey, on the 14th of February 1626, and lord president on the 1st of November 1633. [Lord Hailes's Catalogue, p. 8,-9.]

died

died in 1675. By Helen, a daughter of John Trotter of Morton hall, Alexander left John Spottiswoode, who was born at Edinburgh, on the 28th of November 1667, and who was educated at the school of Kelso, and the college of Edinburgh. He, choosing jurisprudence for his profession, served an apprenticeship with James Hay, an eminent writer to the signet, in order to learn the practice of the law, which studying afterwards in its theory at Leyden, he was admitted by *The Faculty*, at Edinburgh, an advocate, in December 1696. About the year 1698, he had the honour of being the first, who opened schools; in his own house indeed, for teaching professedly the Roman, and the Scottish, laws, which he continued to teach at Edinburgh, though not in the university, for six-and-twenty years.

It was in January 1703, that John Spottiswoode was appointed, with Adam Coult, the joint keeper of the Advocates Library, under whom Ruddiman acted, till February 1728. John Spottiswoode married, in 1710, Helen Arbuthnot, the daughter of the viscount of Arbuthnot, and the widow of John Macfarlane of Macfarlane, by whom she had the late Walter Macfarlane, who is so justly celebrated for his Celtic literature, and antiquarian knowledge. By her, Spottiswoode left John Spottiswoode of Spottiswoode, the late venerable representative of that respectable family, who died at the age of eighty-two, on the 11th of March 1793.

Such was Spottiswoode, whom Ruddiman so long assisted, as the keeper of the Advocates Library, and sometimes helped, as the editor of books. It was, mean time, on the 28th of July 1703, that Ruddiman gave to Spottiswoode and Coult his bond, with William Simpson, his mother's brother, for security, "That he would make
" forth coming all books and other things, which
" at present are, or should thereafter be brought
" into the library, according to signed catalogues
" of the same." His salary was a hundred pounds Scots, or eight pounds, six shillings, and eight pence, sterling, which were payable half yearly. His uncommon diligence was soon observed. On the 26th of October 1703, he was paid fifty pounds, Scots, as an extra allowance, for his extraordinary pains. He had moreover, an honorary present from every student, when he was about to be admitted an advocate, for correcting his thesis. He was paid also for copying manuscripts for the use of *the library*. (p) The learning, and judgment, the activity, and attention, which Ruddiman invariably exerted, for the benefit of this institution, during fifty years, have justly gained him the honour of being the second founder of *The Advocates Library*. (q)

(p) I found the accurate informations, which are contained in this paragraph, in *Ruddiman's pocket-book*.

(q) See Mr. Brown's judicious preface to the first volume of the Catalogue, which Ruddiman and Goodal compiled.

The

The prevailing sentiment in the heart of Ruddiman, during his whole life, was *piety*. When he resolved on any great undertaking, he determined to work steadily, but to trust in the assistance of God. When he formed a state of his debts, of his credits, and of his expectations, *I refer*, said he, *the event of all to God.* (r) As to *modes of faith*, he was an Episcopalian. And, in December 1703, he agreed to pay forty shillings, Scots, for *his seat*, during two years, in *Gray's Close meeting house.* (s) Who the preacher was, or whether he prayed for the Queen, I am unable to tell.

His attention to the *Advocates Library* did not engage his whole activity. In the years, 1703, 1704, and 1705, he transcribed much from the *chronicles*, and *chartularies*, which were deposited under his care. The university of Glasgow gave him steady employment, in what he then regarded as agreeable labour. (t) He was very poor:
and

(r) Ruddiman's pocket-book.

(s) Ruddiman's pocket-book.

(t) In Ruddiman's pocket-book are the following entries:—1703, Received of the university of Glasgow 25 l. Scots, for transcribing a MS. called *Extracta ex Chronicis Scotiae*.—24 March 1704, received of the same 47 l. Scots, for transcribing the first volume of Sir James Balfour's *Annals* of 424 folios. October 1705, received of Mr. Hamilton, 7 l. 2 s. for transcribing nineteen sheets of a MS.—8 November 1705, I resolved (by God's assistance) to write as

and he thus laudably determined to be rich, by his diligence. He was extremely punctual in all his transactions. And on the 25th of March 1704, he was careful to note, "that all the money he had ever borrowed was paid." For several years, after his arrival at Edinburgh, he had much intercourse of kindness, and business, with his uncle, William Simpson. And, his brother John, being at Edinburgh, in July 1703, partook of our author's bounty, who found the means of being bountiful, in his attentive industry. All these particulars, I have mentioned, for the benefit of such young men, who, like Ruddiman, fall out into the world, to look for a livelihood; that they may imitate his diligence, and honesty, and trust, with his piety, in the aid of God.

With that prudent industry, which never left him, during life, he resumed his old employment, early in 1705. He, at this time, began to teach such students, as wished to profit from his knowledge. Some came to him: he went to others. (u) He

much as I am able of the MS. I shall have occasion to transcribe; and to take exact notice of the progress I make weekly. I design (God willing) to write six sheets a week. He had then transcribed eighty-eight sheets of the Chartulary of Murray.

(u) In Ruddiman's pocket-book there are the following entries: "12 March 1705, Alexander Dean began to be taught.—21st June 1705, Thomas Smith entered.—26 June 1605, I began to go to Dunfinnan [the son of "Nairn,

He appears to have ere long extended his plan. In the beginning of 1706, he received the sons of respectable parents into his family, who probably expected to derive an advantage from his learning, and to enjoy the benefit of his conversation. John Kininmonth; the Laird of Gairfay, the younger; Mathew Mackail; James Halden, the younger of Gleneagles; Patrick Steuart; George Dunbar; and James Ogilvy of Achirries; (x) were the liberal youths, who, in this manner, sought for instruction under the roof of Ruddiman. This specification of names puts an end to the tradition, that our author taught the elements of grammar to the late Mareschal Keith, Mac Dowall, who rose to be Lord Bankton; and to

“ Nairn, a Baronet.]—15 January 1706, William Miller entered.—7 June 1706, Dr. Pitcairne entered his son Andrew to be taught, and *gave me two guineas.*” He speaks, in another place, of “ the *most generous* Dr. Pitcairne.”

(x) Ruddiman made the following entries in his pocket-book: 13 June 1706, I agreed with Mr. James Kininmonth, who is to pay 20 l. for his chamber, for half a year.—16 June 1706, agreed with the Laird of Gairfay, younger, who is to pay for his chamber 30 l. Scots, for half a year.—James Halden, the younger of Gleneagles, and Patrick Steuart, agreed jointly and severally for a chamber at 3 l. sterling for half a year.—March 1707, George Dunbar entered on his chamber.—12 July 1709, James Ogilvy of Achirries entered on his chamber.

to others, who arrived at less eminence, by their actions in the field, or by their studies in the closet.

Ruddiman's connection with the booksellers of Edinburgh commenced in 1706; owing to their desire of help, and to his wish for gain. He no doubt felt—

“Cum mercede labor gratior esse potest.”

And, he was, from this consideration probably induced to correct, in 1706, Sir Robert Sibbald's *Introductio ad Historiam rerum a Romanis Gestarum in ea Borealis Britanniae parte quæ ultra murum Picticum est.* (y) When John Spottiswoode published, *The Practiques of the Laws of Scotland*, by Sir Robert Spottiswoode, the Lord President of the Session, (z) he asked the aid of Ruddiman, for which he paid him five pound sterling. (a)

In every period of his life, Ruddiman followed a very laudable practice of making statements of his affairs, that he might frequently see the amount of his credits and his debts. At the end of 1706, he drew up a very exact state of both, whence he perceived, that after making every deduction, he had a clear balance of 28l. 2s. with just expectations, amounting to 236l. 7s.

(y) It was printed in folio, at Edinburgh, in 1706. From Freebairn, the bookseller, Ruddiman received for his assistance three pounds sterling. [Ruddiman's pocket-book.]

(z) It was printed at Edinburgh, in 1706, in folio.

(a) Ruddiman's pocket-book.

6d. Scots. (*b*) Here is another example in the practice of Ruddiman, which, were it copied, would help the young to enter life with safety, and enable the old to leave the world with comfort!

Our author was induced by his habitual activity to commence auctioneer, in 1707, for which he was well qualified, by his knowledge of books, and his punctuality in business. He naturally dealt in school-books, (*c*) when he instructed scholars.

In 1707, he gave an edition of Volusenus *de Animi Tranquilitate Dialogus*. Wilson was a Scotfman, who was born at Elgin, in the county of Murray, was educated at Aberdeen and Paris, and who was patronized by Wolfey; and, wandering into Italy, attracted the notice of the celebrated Cardinal Sadolet, by his skill in the Latin, and the Greek, languages. His dialogue on the *Tranquillity of the Mind* was first printed, by Gryphius, at Leyden, in 1543. (*d*) Wilson died on his road to Scotland, in 1547, at Vienne in Dauphiny. Buchanan, by writing his epitaph, paid a tribute to his learning, and his virtues. And, Freebairn, the bookseller, from the hope of

(*b*) Ruddiman's pocket-book; whence it appears, that his house-rent was thirty-six pounds a year, and that the weekly expences of his family amounted to three pounds, Scots.

(*c*) Ruddiman's pocket-book mentions both those facts.

(*d*) It was printed at Edinburgh, 1571, in 8vo. [Herb. 3. v. 1493.]

gain,

gain, summoned Ruddiman to correct the typographical errors of Gryphius; to give a new preface; and to subjoin a sketch of the life of Wilson; *Voluseni Ortus, Vita, et Mors.* (e) There was another edition of this book printed at Edinburgh, in 1751, with a preface by John Ward, the professor of Gresham College, who dedicated his work, without any notice of the labours of others, to Wishart, the principal of the University of Edinburgh.

The various avocations of Ruddiman did not prevent his learned diligence from engaging in greater labours. He published, in 1709, *Johnstoni Cantici Solomonis paraphrasis poetica.* Arthur Johnston, who has had the honour of being placed in competition with Buchanan, was born at Caskieben, near Aberdeen, in 1587. Having applied himself to the study of physic, he obtained at Padua, in 1610, the degree of Doctor in Medicine: and travelling through Europe, he returned to Scotland, in 1632, with a high reputation for Latin poetry. (f) He, about that time,

(e) This new edition was printed by Robert Freebairn, at Edinburgh, in 1707, 8vo. There is a life of Florence Wilson in Mackenzie's *Lives of Scottish writers*, vol. 3. p. 29—34.

(f) I have in my collection: "Epigrammata Arturi Johnstoni, Scoti, Medici Regij. Abredoniæ, Excud. Ed. Rabanus, 1632:" Whence, I am led to suspect, that Johnston must have returned sooner than 1632, when he was already the King's physician.

became

became physician to Charles I. by the interest of Laud, who was pleased with *his Psalms*, which were first completely printed at Aberdeen, in 1637. In this year, he edited the *Deliciæ Poetarum Scotorum*, to which he was himself a large contributor; and which, says Doctor Johnson, *would have done honour to any country.* (g) This learned physician, and admirable poet, died, at Oxford, in 1641, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. His works were printed at Middleburgh, in 1642, at the expence of Scot of Scotstarvit, the author of the *Staggering State of Scottish Statesmen*, who was himself a poet. And, in 1709, Ruddiman published *Johnstoni Cantica*, with notes, which he dedicated, in a copy of verses, to Doctor Pitcairne. (b) But, it is doubtful, whether it were on this occasion, that the physician presented the dedicator with a silver cup, (i) which was inscribed with a couplet from Horace :

“ Narratur et prisce Catonis,

“ Sæpe mero incaluisse virtus.”

—The gold of Johnston was afterwards tarnished, by the injudicious admiration of auditor Benson,

(g) In his journey to the Western Islands.

(b) It appears from Ruddiman's pocket-book, that an edition of two hundred, of the *Cantica*, cost him five pounds ten shillings, sterling, which he sold at a shilling each copy.

(i) This cup was of a small size, and scarcely contained the half of an English pint: it remained in Ruddiman's family, till the house was entered by robbers, who carried off this honourable mark of Pitcairne's kindness.

who

who attempted to raise him, as a poet, to a superiority over Buchanan, the modern, and even to an equality with Horace, the ancient.

Ruddiman, amidst all his avocations, and his other labours, was soon to produce what brought him greater gain, and has conferred upon him more lasting fame. At the epoch of the union, Robert Freebairn, the bookseller, had undertaken to publish a new edition of *Virgil's Æneid*, as it had been translated into Scottish verse, by the famous Gawin Douglas. Our celebrated translator sprang from an Earl of Angus, in 1475, and became by his merit, as much as by his connection, the Bishop of Dunkeld, in 1516. He enjoyed several offices, in the church, and performed many services to the state. He charmed, and civilized, his countrymen, by the emanations of his muse. And he finished his wonderful translation of the *Æneid*, in 1513, which was first printed, at London, by Copland, in 1553. The poet mean time died, at London, while he was acting as a negociator, in 1522. The celebrity of his name, and the popularity of his poem, enabled Freebairn to publish his *new edition*, after some delay, in 1710.

The publisher found several learned men, whom, as they were proud to lend their aid, he is studious to thank for their various contributions. He acknowledges obligations to Nicholson, the Bishop of Carlisle, to Sir Robert Sibbard, Doctor
Pit-

Pitcairne, Doctor Drummond, and to Mr. John Urry of Christ church, Oxford. The elaborate life of our great poet, which is prefixed to the work, was contributed by Bishop Sage, who probably desired the concealment of his authorship, and who died, as we shall find, in the subsequent year. The publisher, however, thought himself obliged, by gratitude, to acknowledge, how much indebted he had been to the care of the judicious Thomas Ruddiman, who, in his opinion, “deserved all respect and encouragement from the patrons of virtue and letters.” The fact is, that Freebairn owed more to Ruddiman than he mentions. It was Ruddiman, who superintended the work, and corrected the press; who wrote “*The large Glossary, explaining the difficult words, and serving for a dictionary to the old Scottish language.*” (*k*)

Sir David Dalrymple, the late Lord Hailes, was the first to do justice to the unrewarded labours of Ruddiman. This excellent judge remarks, of the editor of *The Evergreen* that, as a glossarist, he does not seem to have consulted the

(*k*) In his pocket-book, Ruddiman charged Freebairn, for correcting G. D. [Gawin Douglas's Virgil] *writing the glossary, &c.* a hundred pounds Scots, of which he acknowledged to have received forty-eight pounds. By this document, is the authorship ascertained; and by this evidence, is it proved, that Ruddiman was allowed 8 l. 6 s. 8 d. sterling, for performing one of the most elaborate works in our language.

glossary to Douglas's Virgil; and, with regard to Ruddiman, adds this able critic, "that they
 " who have not consulted this glossary cannot
 " acquire a competent knowledge of the ancient
 " Scottish dialect, unless by infinite and ungrate-
 " ful labour. This eulogium is the least I can
 " bestow on the learning and accuracy of Mr.
 " Thomas Ruddiman. His modesty was still
 " more remarkable than his learning; for he
 " suffered his glossary to go forth into the world,
 " without the name of its author."

———— Sine pondere terram,
 Spirantesque crocos, et in urna perpetuum ver,

" is the *Classical* wish of one, who has profited
 " by the labours of this studious, intelligent, and
 " modest, man." (1)

Freebairn's edition of *Virgil's Æneid* is a most judicious publication. It opens with the life of the author, which contains all that well-informed diligence could collect, and to which is subjoined *The judgment of learned men, concerning Gawin Douglas*. Then follows a modest, yet instructive, *preface*, by Freebairn, which was probably sketched by Ruddiman. It gives a short account of the present undertaking. The editors did not follow, says the prefacer, the example of *those bold critics, who do not stick to alter*

(1) See the preface to Bannatyne's ancient Scottish poems, p. ix.

in authors what they do not understand. The incorrectness of the copy, or the negligence of the printer, they were studious to amend by the help of an excellent manuscript, in the college of Edinburgh. The large glossary was neither at first designed, we are told, nor promised by them. On this head it is said, with the modesty of Ruddiman, that it must be frankly confessed, there are some very few words, concerning the meaning of which, we could only make probable conjectures. After the preface, follow *General Rules for understanding the Language of Bishop Douglas's Translation of Virgil's Æneid.* These *General Rules*, amounting to forty-two, were undoubtedly written by Ruddiman, and were compiled with great accuracy of thought, and precision of language. He who wishes for instruction, with regard to the old Teutonick language of our island, will find, in this tract, satisfactory information.

The reader is, in this manner, conducted to *The Glossary*, which is so copious as to be a comprehensive dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon language of Scotland, and of England, previous to the seventeenth century. Without aiming at perfection, which the author knew was unattainable, he only laboured to be useful. Yet, has the glossary of Ruddiman been censured, *as wanting many words which actually exist in the translation;*
and

and a great many more are so distorted by false derivations, that they only serve to multiply our doubts. (m) Our glossarist only professed to give the difficult words. And, it must be allowed, that he had not provided himself with an Arabic Lexicon, a Persian Dictionary, and a Shanscrit Vocabulary, to enable him to search the desarts of Arabia, the hills of Persia, and the plains of Indostan, for the etymological origin of the Anglo-Saxon language. He was led by his judgment to draw his etymons from the most obvious sources. He discovered many in the traditions of his country, still more in the Teutonic dialects; and many in the antiquated French. When he had found what he sought, he stopt short in his researches, without affecting any coxcomical display of etymological erudition. His great aim was, what he undoubtedly attained, to help the unskilful reader; but it was not to exhibit his own attainments. Etymology is so clearly not a necessary branch of the duty of a glossarist, that I trust, says the learned Tyrwhit, (n) I shall be easily excused for not having troubled the reader with more frequent digressions of that sort. Thus we see, that Ruddiman, in his avowed practice, preceded Tyrwhit, in his judicious precept.

(m) The Introduction to *Two Ancient Scottish Poems*, p. 8. by Callendar of Craigforth.

(n) Advertisement, p. iii. to his Glossary to Chaucer.

Had Ruddiman been better acquainted, it is said, (o) with the *Northern* languages, he would have known, that the origin of the word *deroy* is of much higher antiquity than the old French *desroyer*. The critic makes out his point with true etymological impertinence: he cites words from the Gothic, from the Islandic, from the Saxon, from the Scythian, from the Welsh, from the Belgic, from the Swedish, and from the Latin, without one particle of resemblance. Ruddiman

(o) By Callendar in his *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, p. 103. The objection of Callendar is ill-placed. Had he objected to Ruddiman, his ignorance of *Celtic*, the aboriginal language of his country, there had been more propriety, and greater use. For want of Celtic knowledge, Ruddiman is certainly mistaken in several of his etymons. *Bry*, or *Brae*, our glossarist explains to mean, the side of a hill, or bank of a river, from the Anglo-Saxon *Bracan*, or French *Braye*. But, the Scottish *Brae* is plainly British in its origin. Thus: *Bri* in Cornish is a hill, or promontory: Welsh, *Bre*; whence *Pen-bre Moel-Urs*.—*Loch*, says Ruddiman, is a lake from the Latin *Lacus*. But, *Loch* is plainly Irish, though the English orthography is *Loghe*.—*Leiche*, says Ruddiman, is a physician from the Ang. Sax. *Laece*, a leech: But, *Leiche* is probably from the Irish *Liogh*, a physician: whence, *Leigheas*, *Leighios*, for medicine, help, &c. There are a great variety of words, which are spoken daily by Ruddiman's countrymen, and are considered as of Saxon derivation though they be Celtic in their origin. Thus: *Kraig* is in Welsh a rock. A *cupboard* is *Amri* in Cornish, in Welsh *Almari*. *Mart* is *Erse* for a fat cow. Kirk's Voc. Nic. Hist. lib. p. 103. But, this is a subject, which requires the ample extent of a dissertation, rather than the narrow limits of a note.

had too correct a mind to wander with Callendar towards the regions of the North, to inquire for what he had learned, in his youth, on the *braes* of *Boyne*, or heard, during his manhood, in the streets of Edinburgh. One must lament, to see such a genius as Callendar's cramped by his conceit; to behold so much learning enforced with so little ratiocination; to view usefulness of design cut off by the ridiculousness of system, and the liberality of pursuit degraded by the vagaries of folly!

All legitimate etymology may be reduced nearly to questions of fact. We must first trace the history of every people, ere we can attempt to investigate their language. It would then be no difficult inquiry, to ascertain with sufficient certainty, what speech they brought with them into their original settlements; what words they borrowed, in the progress of their knowledge, when they became acquainted with things, that they knew not before; what idioms they acquired, in the vicissitudes of fashion, from the nations around them. When words have been traced, with the good sense of Ruddiman, to the Anglo-Saxon, it may be easily inferred, that such words were imported by a Teutonic people, without launching out into the great ocean of German literature. When we see a scientific term borrowed plainly from the Greek, it is sufficient to assert the fact, without inquiring, whence

whence the Greeks may have borrowed it. (p) When we meet with a word, in the Scots dialect, which is purely French, etymological affectation alone could shew, by the consultation of dictionaries, that the French derived it from the Latin, that the Latins borrowed it from the Greek, that the Greeks derived it from the Hebrew, that the Hebrews fetched it from the plain of Babylon, at the early epoch of the *confusion of the lip*. (q) It is by such etymological fooleries, that a liberal study comes into the ridicule of the weak, and the contempt of the wise.

A few months only elapsed before Ruddiman was respectfully noticed, as Freebairn had wished, by the patrons of virtue and letters. A vacancy happening in the grammar-school of Dundee, the magistrates invited our grammarian to fill the office of rector. The advocates had, mean-time, noted

(p) John Stirling published, in 1738, for the use of schools, "A Catalogue of Latin and some Greek words, which are now made use of in English, differing from their originals only in termination: of Latin words, to which their significations in our language have a great affinity." This catalogue is much larger than one would expect at first sight to see. If similar lists were made out of the words, which we have borrowed from other languages, such lists would greatly illustrate the history of our own speech. This task, indeed, has been very elaborately performed by Mr. Benjamin Martin, in his *Introduction to the English Tongue*, 1749.

(q) See Bryant's *Mythology*, vol. 3. p. 30—1.

his industry, admired his learning, and respected his modesty. With such industry, learning, and modesty, they did not like to part, when they heard of his invitation to Dundee. And, considering *his extraordinary care of the library*, with the increase of his trouble, *The Faculty* determined, on the 15th of July, 1710, to settle upon him an annual salary of 363 l. 6 s. 8 d. Scots, or 30 l. 6 s. 8 d. sterling, in lieu of all fees, except the small gratifications, which were in use to be paid, on the admission of advocates. By such an attention, from such a body, Ruddiman was doubtless flattered. Though he would have made greater profit at Dundee; yet, from respect to the Faculty, he chose rather to accept of their salary, than to relinquish their service. (r) The young may here see another example of modest worth being noticed, by the eye of discernment, and rewarded, in due season, by the hand of munificence.

But, such is life, that during the moments of sun-shine, the blast of a storm is often at hand! Towards the end of 1710, Ruddiman lost his wife. (s) She left him a son, who had been named Archibald, after his patron Doctor Pit-

(r) See the APPENDIX, N^o 3. for *The Act of the Faculty of Advocates*, with *fact-similes* of their names.

(s) On that occasion, Ruddiman made the following entry in his pocket-book: "The disbursements at my dear wife's funeral, an. 1710, amounted to 305 l. 12 s. 6 d. Scots."

cairne; and a daughter, who was called Elizabeth. He settled them both in the country, either for the benefit of the air, or from his inability to provide for them at home. (*t*) At the end of the year 1710, he stated an account of his wealth; whence it appeared, that he owed 516 l. 11 s. 6 d; that he had credits to the amount of 813 l. 5 s. 8 d. so that, exclusive of clothes and furniture, he was worth 296 l. 14 s. 2 d. Scots. (*u*) From this statement we see, that he was growing daily richer: but, he who enters the world, without a shilling, must labour many an hour, before he can acquire the comforts, and dignity of opulence. Ruddiman, however, was never discouraged; but continued his diligence, and trusted in God.

Ruddiman was now known, at Edinburgh, as an editor, with sufficient learning, and uncommon industry. And, James Watson, the printer, wanting help, when he was about to publish the works of Drummond of Hawthornden, in 1711, naturally asked his aid. But, whether Ruddiman were the editor of the whole volume

(*t*) From his pocket-book it appears, That he placed his son with James Colvil at the bridge of Inch, for whom he was to pay 14 l. Scots a quarter; that he settled his daughter with one Paton at Mayfield, at 18 l. Scots a quarter. These two, with a third child that Barbara Scollay brought her husband, died in their infancy.

(*u*) This statement is entered in his pocket-book.

cannot now be ascertained. Sage undertook this task, but lived not to finish it. The *Lives of the Five James's* by *Drummond* had been twice published before, to which was prefixed an Introduction by Hall of Gray's-Inn, who wrote it with careless inattention, or malignant purpose. And, a new Introduction was now given by Sage, with *notes* by Ruddiman, (*w*) which superseded the old, in regard both to stile, and sentiment.

The family of the Sages had lived for seven generations before the birth of our editor, in the parish of Criech, which is situated in the North-East of Fife, with much reputation, but with little property. John Sage, the friend and coadjutor of Ruddiman, was here born, in 1652, the son of Captain Sage, who fought in Lord Duffus's regiment, on the King's side, when Monk stormed Dundee, on the 30th of August 1651.

The civil wars left the father little to give his son, except good principles, and a liberal education. After diligent study, in the university of St. Andrew's, young Sage obtained his Master of Arts degree, about the year 1672. He now made letters his profession. And he was ere long appointed to be schoolmaster of Bingry, in his native shire, and became afterwards school-

(*w*) In his Answer to Logan, p. 360, Ruddiman acknowledges *the notes*, which are not many in number, but are excellent in quality. In these, he settled some dates, which had not been fixed before.

master of Tippermoor, in the county of Perth. In these stations, without gaining opulence, he lost his health. He was at length invited by Mr. James Drummond of Cultmalundie to educate his sons, whom he accompanied first to the school of Perth, and afterwards to the university of St. Andrew's. Here, was he remembered, his learning acknowledged, and his manners admired. His pupils left him, in 1684, when he departed from St. Andrew's, without any determinate object.

In this moment of indecision and helplessness, Doctor Rose, the professor of divinity, in that university, recommended Sage to his uncle, Archbishop Rose, who gave him priests orders, and persuaded him to officiate, at Glasgow. In this commercial town, he continued to discharge his duty, with talents, and efficacy, till the tumults of the Revolution, in 1688, obliged him to flee to Edinburgh, for shelter.

He, at this period, commenced a polemical writer; thinking, no doubt, to support a falling Church, by the efforts of his head, and hand. (x)
At

(x) 1st. Mr. Sage wrote the second and third letters, concerning the persecution of the Episcopal Clergy in Scotland, which were printed at London, in 1689; the Reverend Thomas Morer having written the first, and professor Munro the fourth.

At Edinburgh, he preached a while, till refusing to take the oaths of allegiance, when required by the government, he was obliged to retire. In this extremity, he found protection in the house of Sir William Bruce, the sheriff of Kinross, who approved his principles, and admired his virtue. Returning to Edinburgh, in 1695, he was observed, and obliged to abscond. Yet, he returned in 1696, when his friend, Sir William Bruce was imprisoned, as a suspected person. He was soon

2dly. *An Account of the late Establishment of Presbyterian Government by the Parliament of Scotland, in 1690.* London, 1693.

3dly. *The Fundamental Charter of Presbytery.* London, 1695.

4thly. *The Principles of the Cyprianick Age—with regard to Episcopal Power and Jurisdiction.* London, 1695.

5thly. *A Vindication of the Principles of the Cyprianick Age.* London, 1701.

6thly. *Some Remarks on a Letter from a Gentleman in the City, to a Minister in the Country, on Mr. David Williamson's Sermon before the General Assembly.* Edinburgh, 1703.

7thly. *A brief Examination of some Things in Mr. Meldrum's Sermon, preached on the 16th of May 1703, against a Toleration to those of the Episcopal Persuasion.* Edinburgh, 1703.

8thly. *The Reasonableness of a Toleration of those of the Episcopal Persuasion inquired into purely on Church Principles.* Edinburgh, 1704.

9thly. *The Life of Gawin Douglass, in 1710.*

10thly. *An Introduction to Drummond's History of the Five James's.* Edinburgh, 1711.—And he left several Manuscripts on various subjects, that are mentioned in his *Life*, by Bishop Gillan, which was published at London, in 1714.

forced

forced to look for refuge in the hills of Angus, under the name of Jackson.

After a while, Mr. Sage found a safe retreat with the Countess of Callendar, who employed him to instruct her family, as chaplain, and her sons, as tutor. These occupations did not wholly engage his active mind: For, he employed his pen, in defending his order, or in exposing his oppressors. When the Countess of Callendar had no longer sons to instruct, Sage accepted the invitation of Sir John Steuart of Garntully, who wanted the help of a chaplain, and the conversation of a scholar. With Sir John, he continued till the decency of his manners, and the extensiveness of his learning, recommended him to a higher station. And, on the 25th of January 1705, he was consecrated a Bishop, by Paterfon, the Archbishop of Glasgow, Rose, the Bishop of Edinburgh, and Douglas, the Bishop of Dumblain.

But, this promotion did not prevent sickness from falling on him, in November 1706. After lingering for many months in Scotland, he tried the effect of the waters of Bath, in 1709, without success. At Bath, and at London, he remained a twelvemonth, recognized by the great, and caressed by the learned. Yet, though he was invited to stay, he returned in 1710, to his native country, which he desired to see, and where he wished to die. And, though his body was debilitated, he engaged, with undiminished vigour of mind, in

in the publication of Drummond's works, to which Ruddiman lent his aid. Bishop Sage died, at Edinburgh, on the 7th of June, 1711, lamented by his friends for his virtues, and feared by his adversaries for his talents. Of Sage, Ruddiman always speaks as a companion, whom he esteemed for his worth, and as a scholar, whom he admired for his learning.

Our grammarian had scarcely finished this task, when his assistance was asked for Abercromby, who published, in 1711, the *Martial Atchievements of the Scots Nation*. (y)

Patrick Abercromby, Doctor in Medicine, was the son of Alexander Abercromby of Fetter-
near, in Aberdeenshire, and the brother of Francis Abercromby, who was created Lord Glasford, in July 1685. (z) They were all Roman Catholics, who partook of the misfortunes of James II. Patrick Abercromby spent his youth in foreign countries, as he tells us himself; and was probably educated in the university of Paris. He returned to Scotland, during the reign of Queen Anne, and busied himself, in promoting the interest of the abdicated family. His book of *Martial Atchievements*, which was supported by a long list of subscribers, was perhaps published with this

(y) The first volume was printed, at Edinburgh, in folio, by Robert Freebairn: The second was printed in 1715, partly by Freebairn, and partly by Ruddiman.

(z) Crauford's Peerage, p. 167.

design. In his preface, he confessed his obligation to his learned friend, Mr. Thomas Ruddiman. When the second volume of *The Martial Atchievements* appeared, in 1715, he again acknowledged the favour, that he owed to the judicious, and indefatigable, Mr. Ruddiman, who not only corrected the copy, but superintended the press. Freebairn printed the one half of this volume, and Ruddiman the other half. But, for this first specimen of his typographical labours, our printer was probably never paid; (a) as Doctor Abercromby died about the year 1716; leaving a widow, in distressed circumstances.

In the midst of those various labours, Ruddiman married, in 1711, for his second wife, Janet Horfeburgh, the daughter of John Horfeburgh, a lawyer, who acted as sheriff-clerk of Fifeshire. By this marriage, he probably enlarged his connections rather than increased his fortune. She brought him a daughter, named Elizabeth, on the 14th August 1712, who died in her childhood; and a son, Thomas, on the 4th of January 1714, whom he raised to manhood with hopes, that were however blasted, by one of those strokes of adversity, which no prudence can foresee, nor power prevent.

Ruddiman was not long retarded, by the review of *Martial Atchievements*, or by marriage, from the philological studies, in which he seems

(a) The Doctor is often mentioned in Ruddiman's accounts, as his debtor, even as late as October 1735.

to have, all his life, so much delighted. In 1713, he published, *with improvements*, the *Vocabulary* of John Forrest, who had been schoolmaster at Leith, and was one of the few Scotsmen, that had ever produced a *Word-Book*. David Wedderburn, the celebrated rector of the school of New Aberdeen, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, had, indeed, written *Vocabula cum alijs Linguae Latinae subsidij*s, which were inserted in the various editions of his grammar. James Paterfon had also published a vocabulary, which in the judgment of Ruddiman, was only an abridgment of Cellarius's *Latinitatis probatæ liber memorialis*. And, Thomas Watt printed at Edinburgh, in 1708, a *vocabulary*, to which he added *the language of the schools*, in English, and Latin. But, the *Literati* of Scotland have not yet given any thing to the world, which can be called a *Lexicon* of the learned languages. (b) This barrenness

(b) If, however, we may credit Sir Robert Sibbald, David Colvil, who was born in Fifeshire, much enlarged the Dictionary of Cæsar Calderinus, which he published at Venice, in 1612, and called it *Calepinus*. [Hist. of Fife Appendix.] —So, Sir Robert is willing to transfer the property of Calepin, a native of Calepio, in Italy, whence he took his name, to Colvil, his countryman. Calepin died on the 29th of October, 1510. His Dictionary was augmented by Pafserat, and published at Lyons, 1681, in two volumes, folio. The late professor George Steuart, indeed, of the university of Edinburgh, after thirty years labour, had finished a Latin Dictionary, which is more copious than Ainsworth's, and more elaborate than Littleton's.

may

may possibly be owing to the fertility of England, who earlier took possession of the classick field, which she cultivated with great skill and labour.

While Ruddiman was thus employed, he lost his active patron, Doctor Pitcairne, the friend of Bellini, the preceptor of Boërhaave, the master of Mead, who died, at the age of sixty-one, on the 23d of October 1713. When the poets of Scotland came to offer their verses, (c) at the tomb of him, who had presided among them, Ruddiman hastened with his tributary tear. After he had inscribed, with a grateful pen, Pitcairne's epitaph, Ruddiman bade him farewell with fond recollection of his patron's talents and favours:---

*Ergo Vale lux Scotigenum, Princepsque Medentum,
Musarum columen deliciæque, vale!*

Ruddiman tried to show his gratitude to the dead, by endeavouring to benefit the living. (d) He negotiated the sale of his patron's library to Peter, the Great, through the influence of the Czar's

(c) See the Verses to Pitcairne in *Pitcarnej Poemata*, p. 84—98, and Ruddiman's Epitaph in Monteith's *Theater of Mortality*, p. 242.

(d) Being at Edinburgh, in 1791, I had the honour to visit a maiden daughter of Doctor Pitcairne, who, though she was bowed down with age, received me with her father's politeness, and conversed with her father's spirit. When I asked her, if she remembered Ruddiman, she said, that she remembered him very well; that he had made a catalogue of her father's books, and would take nothing for his pains.
physician,

physician, Doctor Erskine. The widow of Pitcairne lived till October 1754, when Ruddiman attempted to perpetuate her worth. (e) The daughters of Pitcairne carried his blood into the noble families of Kelley, and Colville. The son of Pitcairne, running out to the rebellion of 1715, was saved from the stroke of justice, by the active interposition of Doctor Mead, who finely said to Walpole, that if the minister's health were bettered by his skill, or the royal family were preserved by his care, it was owing to the instructions of Pitcairne. Such reciprocations of kindness ought ever to be remembered, both as tributes to the dead, and as examples to the living.

Ruddiman published, at length, in 1714, *The Rudiments of the Latin Tongue*; being, *An easy*

(e) Ruddiman published the following character of her, in the Caledonian Mercury of the 20th October 1754:

“ On Saturday last died, in a very advanced age, Mrs.
 “ Elizabeth Stevenson, daughter of Sir Archibald Steven-
 “ son, physician to his Majesty, King Charles II. and relict
 “ of the eminent and ever-famous Dr. Archibald Pitcairne,
 “ whom she outlived 41 years. She was a person of great
 “ prudence, exemplary piety, and above all, of a singular
 “ evenness and composedness of temper, which she pre-
 “ served to the last, amidst the many vicissitudes of fortune,
 “ wherewith she had been exercised: all which, with many
 “ other accomplishments, which adorn the sex, did not only
 “ highly endear her to her family, relations, and friends, but
 “ also leave a grateful remembrance of her in the minds of
 “ all those, who had the benefit of her conversation and ex-
 “ ample.”

Introduction to Latin Grammar. (f) This work will transmit our grammarian's name with celebrity to every age, as long as, the language of Rome shall continue to be taught in the schools of Scotland. Philology had not been much cultivated in the Northern parts of Britain, before Ruddiman appeared. (g) The works of foreign grammarians; of Despauter and Vives; were printed often in prose, and sometimes in verse. In the progress of improvement, or innovation, the Scottish schoolmasters had successively published grammatical essays, which may have gratified personal vanity, without gaining the public approbation. Two grammars, however insufficient, had taken possession of the schools; the *Grammatica Despauteriana* of Kirkwood, which was written wholly in Latin, the language, that *the Despauteriana* was designed to teach; and Simpson's *Rudimenta Grammatices*, which were defective in the syntax. Yet, when justice required Ruddiman to dispraise the philological labours of his predecessors, he suppressed, with

(f) It was printed at Edinburgh, in 1714, by Freebairn, and it was entered at the Stationers Hall, in London, for Andrew Bell, on the 26th of March 1715. The original MS. in the author's own hand writing, is in *The Advocates Library*, 4to. The second edition was published at Edinburgh, in 1716, and the third edition, in 1720.

(g) See *the APPENDIX*, N^o 4, for a *chronological list*, which was drawn up by Ruddiman, of such *grammars* as had been written by Scotsmen.

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his accustomed modesty, the names of the authors, and the books, which he was about to censure.

He did not, at last, engage spontaneously in the useful task of giving assistance to children, in the learning of the Latin language. He was solicited often, by the masters of schools, to undertake the compilation of a new grammatical treatise, which might supply the defects of the old; and which was soon known by the title of *Ruddiman's Rudiments*. In the performance of this engagement, he was kindly helped by the learned few, who wished success to the benevolent design. He consulted the best grammarians, both ancient and modern, and adopted from all what he deemed most suitable to his purpose. Yet, was he obstructed much in his progress, by the contests among pedagogues, about the best method of communicating the Latin tongue, and by the impossibility of satisfying contradictory opinions. In following, amidst these embarrassments, his own judgment, he reduced the rudiments into a *short text*; and gave an English version with the Latin original; leaving every master to chuse either the English, or the Latin, as he might think proper; and subjoining for the use of those, who might think the text too compendious, notes, which were at once copious, and explanatory. And, affecting little novelty, he departed no farther from the common system, than former grammarians

D. 1757.] THOMAS RUDDIMAN. 65

rians had receded from truth. His work was generally approved, as soon as it was carefully inspected. He had diligently followed the Horatian precept:

“ Quicquid præcipies esto brevis, ut citò dicta

“ Percipiant animi dociles, teneantque fideles.”

He lived to see his Rudiments run through fifteen editions. And, when he departed, at the utmost extremity of life, he left this saleable treatise, as a productive income to his widow.

Ruddiman had scarcely published his *Rudiments*, for the instruction of children, when he engaged in a more arduous undertaking, for the information of men. He undertook, as an editor, to publish, *Buchanani Opera omnia*. This difficult task had been undertaken, about the year 1701, by Mosman, the bookseller of Edinburgh, who printed some of the sheets, which he was obliged to cancel, owing to the insufficiency of his editor. The death of Mosman, transferred his project, with the difficulty attending it, to Freebairn, the printer. The skill and diligence of Ruddiman now recommended him as the fittest editor; and he was induced, rather by the approbation of others, than by his own forwardness, to undertake a task, which, whatever profit it may have brought him, entailed on his future life, the malevolent persecutions of party-zeal. It may at once please, and mortify, the lovers of literature, to be told, that

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for this great performance, Ruddiman was promised forty pounds sterling; which was perhaps as large a reward as Freebairn could afford, while, in Scotland, every house had not yet a library.

In this manner, then, were the entire works of Buchanan for the first time collected by Ruddiman, as the editor, and published by Freebairn, the bookseller, in two folio volumes, during the year 1715. The first volume contains his *History*, and his *Political Treatises*, exclusive of the *Preface*, and the *Life*: The second volume comprehends his poetry, philological tracts, and his epistles. Splendour was superadded to usefulness. A sculpture by Cooper was prefixed, representing Buchanan, as crowned by the genius of literature, and announced by the trumpet of fame.

The book opens with the preface of Freebairn, which had plainly been written by Ruddiman. (*b*)
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(*b*) In a manuscript note on a pamphlet, entitled *Furius*, which will be herein after mentioned, Ruddiman says:
“ What view T. R. had, in publishing his notes on Buchanan, is to be learned from *his preface* to that edition. If
“ the British constitution is to stand upon Buchanan’s principles, it certainly has but a very weak foundation; and
“ yet weaker, if T. R.’s annotations be just. But, the truth
“ is, that T. R. has not in the least meddled with the British constitution, unless it be, that in one note he asserts
“ and proves, That the monarchy of Scotland was, by its
“ original frame, *hereditary*, and in other notes, that Robert,
“ the third, was his father’s lawful son.” Thus far Ruddiman. We have here seen his acknowledgment, that *the preface*

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He began, in prefatory form, with an apology for the tardiness of the publication: And, he ended with deprecatory wishes for the errors of the work, which he hoped were *nec multa nec gravia*, neither many in number, nor great in moment. He gave an elaborate statement of the various editions of Buchanan's separate works. He exposed the chronological errors, and the factious spirit of *The History*: And he laid open the sources, whence he drew the documents, which enabled him to rectify both. With Scylla, on the right, and Charybdis, on the left, he endeavoured with good management, but without ultimate success, to steer his vessel safely through this dangerous streight. He acknowledged, with the warmest thankfulness, the obligations he owed to several men of learning, for their able assistance, in this difficult task. Sir David Dalrymple, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, contributed his intelligent help, with the kindness of a friend. Fletcher of Salton, *the Cato of the age*, promoted the design with the usual ardour of his spirit. Pitcairne, the incomparable physician, who, as Ruddiman delighted to tell,

preface was his own: And we have here his answer, in 1755, to the suggestion, which party had inculcated, for almost forty years, that Ruddiman had stepped out of his way, in 1715, to wound the British constitution, through the sides of Buchanan; and, for this end, had undertaken this edition of his works.

was not only skilful in his profession, but profoundly versed in polite literature, gave his continual aid, while he lived. He mentions also John Drummond, Doctor in Medicine, Laurence Dundas, the professor of languages, in the college of Edinburgh, John Macdonald, James Anderson, a whig, and John Gillan, a Jacobite, as two antiquaries, who were forward to assist his labours. This preface, he communicated to Drummond, Dundas, and Gillan, in order that they might correct the language, rather than add to the matter. (*i*)

The preface naturally led on to *The Life* of Buchanan, which is asserted to have been written by himself, two years before his death. Ruddiman gives a sceptical note, which seems to discover his doubts of an assertion, which has never been supported by proof. Yet, he saw only part of the truth. He did not perceive, what appears to have been *the fact*, that of this life Sir Peter Young was the author. (*k*) Short and superficial

(*i*) Antichristis, p. 22.

(*k*) Of this truth, I convinced myself by a consideration of the following reasons:

1st. On the 15th of March 1579-80, Sir Thomas Randolph wrote from London to Peter Young, who was then the preceptor of King James, under Buchanan's superintendence; urging him to write Buchanan's Life; and offering him hints for his subject. [Rud. Epist. Buch. Op. p. 19.]

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cial as it is, it may be said to end with 1565, without noticing the subsequent events, in the diversified life of Buchanan. Ruddiman endeavoured, by his notes, to contribute something to the authenticity of the facts, and, by the addition of anecdotes, to extend the length of the narrative. It may be allowed, that his diligence did much, though the insufficiency of his information left much for succeeding biographers to do. Those, who have been forward to censure his performance, have not, however, contributed an equal number of documents; nor have they, with the same success, endeavoured to disentangle the knotty, or to knit the loose.

zdy. Doctor Thomas Smith says expressly, "That Peter Young wrote briefly the Life of Buchanan." [Vita Petri Junij, p. 17. in the *Vitæ Illustrum Virorum*, Lond. 1707.] The Life is written without any attention to accuracy, with little activity of research, and with not much precision of remark; yet, Buchanan, doubtless, knew of the design, and lent his assistance. This writer, whoever he were, talks of John Major as being *in extrema senectute*, in 1524, when he was only fifty-five, which is the very prime of a professor. He speaks of Henry VIII. as *jam seniore*, in 1539, when he was but *forty-eight*. He makes Buchanan meet Cardinal Beaton at Paris, in 1539, a twelve-month after he had returned to Scotland: I am thence led to suspect, that Buchanan made his escape from St. Andrew's, by the way of London, to Paris, not in 1539, but in 1538, when he might have met the Cardinal. I could run through the whole Life, and shew similar fooleries, and some malignity, in every page of it.

To the Life, Ruddiman subjoined the *Testimonies* of the learned in favour of Buchanan, which, without any notice of his faults, only recollect his virtues. And to this, the editor has added, what is of more importance to literature, a *Catalogue* of the various editions, and of the manuscript copies, of the whole works of Buchanan.

To *the Life*, now succeeds *the History*, which is printed first, though it was the last of his labours. It has been pertinaciously debated by Ruddiman and his opponents, at what time Buchanan began to compile the historical work, which was to clothe him, in the conceit of his friends, with lasting renown. Soon after his return to Scotland, when he was busily collecting his fugitive pieces, his attention was called to this difficult subject by his patrons, as Ruddiman has ably shewn. The real epoch, however, cannot now be ascertained. When Buchanan commenced the drudge of a party, in 1567, he probably began to write what was to be the apology for the party. He had already made some progress, when he went to London, in 1568. Cecil was soon informed of his design, and continually interested himself in its progress. In August 1577, Buchanan proposed to send his manuscript to the press, during the subsequent winter. Something was soon after lost by him, which he trusted soon to recover, or else, as he told Bowes, “ to
I “ supply

“supply with *soir travell*.” (l) What he at that time lost cannot now be easily found. (m) In September 1578, Buchanan had brought down the story to the death of Murray, when he talked of delivering it to the printer. Yet, he still detained his favourite child under his parental roof. And, notwithstanding every interruption from negligence, or from gout, he proceeded to write the twentieth book, which continues the disastrous tale, from the spring of 1570 to the autumn of 1572, when he abruptly broke off, without retrospective reflection as to the past, or conjectural remark on the future.

The manuscript was at length sent to Alexander Arbuthnot, who had been appointed the

(l) See the letter of Bowes, Queen Elizabeth's ambassador, to Mr. Secretary Cecil, from Stirling, the 18th September 1578, in Murden's State Papers, 316.

(m) I conjecture, that Buchanan may, amidst the multiplicity of his affairs, have lost the copy of the three first books of his History, which, he was, of course, obliged “to supply with *soir travell*.” The two first books appear, at present, to have been *hastily written*: and the third book is *mere transcription* from Roman authors, and even from Bede, and Gildas, which any hand could perform, without “*soir travell*.” This loss, Buchanan was, in this manner, obliged to supply, a short time probably, before he sent his History to the press. The letter of Bowes, which was first published by Murden, had never been seen by Ruddiman, or Man, or by any other of the disputants, with regard to this curious point. If my conjecture be founded, it will go far towards putting an end to the controversy.

King's printer, in 1579, and who lived in Edinburgh, at *the Kirk in the Field*. That Alexander Arbuthnot, the contemporary principal of the King's college, Aberdeen, was the printer of Buchanan's history, has been maintained, with ridiculous pertinacity, by James Man, and by others, who, with foolish zeal, thought it honourable for Buchanan to have his history *incorrectly* printed by that eminent scholar. Against the foolery of James Man, who was often warned of his mistake, (*n*) Ruddiman argued cogently, (*o*) that the office of King's printer was quite incompatible with the necessary residence of the principal of a college, at the distance of eighty miles from the press. The evidence of a record, however, has decisively established *the fact*, that they were different persons. The writ of privy-seal, which appointed Alexander Arbuthnot, the King's printer, describes him as *a burges of Edinburgh*: But, Alexander Arbuthnot, the principal of the King's college, was not a burges of Edinburgh.

From the *Kirk in the Field*, *The History* was sent into the world, in September 1582, with many an error, in every page. (*p*) All these
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(*n*) By professor Thomas Gordon of the King's College, as he assures me.

(*o*) Antichristis, p. 26.

(*p*) There are subjoined to *the Notes and Observations of Thomas Crawford, on Buchanan's History*, which were published

Ruddiman endeavoured to correct, with an unlucky diligence, which proved fatal to his future quiet. The notes, critical and political, that our editor subjoined to *The History*, raised up individuals, and parties against him, who tried, with pertinacious zeal, to cover his grey hairs with ignominy. But, their success, however vexatious, was not equal to their efforts. Their strength was enfeebled by their malice; and their powers of mischief were unequal to his vigour of defence, even after he had been obliged, by the infirmities of age, to employ the eyes, the ears, and the pens of others. To his *Annotations*, Ruddiman annexed, what gave *The History* a value, that it had not before, *Tabula Regum Scotiæ Chronologica*; and what was of still greater use, considering how Buchanan has perverted names, *Propriorum Nominum Interpretatio*.

There was, no doubt, great propriety in printing with *The History*, in the same volume, the *Political Tracts* of Buchanan; because they form a proper supplement to annals, which were begun, by the suggestions of party, and were finished, by the zeal of a partisan. The temporary treatises, zealots can scarcely hope to revive. The *De Jure* will continue to be printed, during anarchical times, and will, doubtless, be praised,

lished at Edinburgh, by Freebairn, in 1708, twelve octavo pages of *Errata Typographica*.

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in every age, by those busy men, who mistake ardour of novelty for attachment to freedom.

The second volume of Buchanan's works contains his poetry, his philological tracts, and his epistles. To each of these heads, the editor subjoined annotations, which have sometimes illustrated the obscurities of the copy, and often corrected the errors of the press. Ruddiman added a most erudite dissertation *De Metris Buchananæis Libellus*, which discloses the nature of his poetry, and displays the beauties of his choice. And here ended the labour, though not the sollicitude, of Ruddiman, with regard to the whole works of Buchanan.

When this edition was published, after all the elaboration of Ruddiman, it was received by learned men, rather as it affected their prepossessions, than as it was approved by their judgments :

“ *Pro captu lectoris habent sua fata libelli.*”

By those, who thought well of Ruddiman's literature, and politics, it was highly praised: By the zealots, who imagined Buchanan to be infallible, it was reprobated by every mode of censure, and rejected with plain avowals of recrimination.

A society was soon formed of the scholars of Edinburgh, for publishing a correct edition of Buchanan's works; with the declared design of vindicating “ that incomparably learned and
“ *pious*

“ *pious* author from the calumnies of Mr. Thomas
 “ Ruddiman.” This *incomparably learned and pious*
society consisted of the following persons: Mr.
 James Anderson, [the] famous antiquary; the re-
 verend and erudite professors, Hamilton and Smith;
 Charles Macky, the professor of History; [Sir]
 Robert Stewart, the professor of Natural Philoso-
 phy; the Rev. George Logan; [Sir] Archibald
 Steuart [Denham,] the advocate; with many
 others of inferior note. Their lucubrations were
 long expected by those, who interested them-
 selves in Buchanan’s fame, and in Ruddiman’s
 character, though they were never gratified by
 their publication. As these profound scholars
 could not write vulgar English, Adam Watt, the
 professor of the Roman language, at Edinburgh,
 had the charity to clothe their nakedness with a
 Roman dress. (q) Animated by the kindness of
 Watt, they proceeded to stuff eighty pages with
 “ *Notts*”

(q) By the favour of the very ingenious and truly com-
 municative George Paton, one of the vice-presidents of the
 Antiquary Society of Edinburgh, I have before me a quar-
 to volume, which being written in a small hand, contains
 much matter in a small space; and which comprehends the
 united works of the above mentioned society. It was from
 it, that I was enabled to specify the names of the members.
 From it I am able to state other particulars. Of this vo-
 lume, the following is the title-page: “ *Notts to vindicat*
 “ the Truth and clear off the Aspersion by, or in, Mr. Tho-
 “ mas Rudeman’s preface to Mr. Robert Freebairn’s edition
 “ of George Buchanan’s History from malignant spirit: or
 “ Mr. James Anderson Antiquary and others their Vindica-
 “ tion

“*Notts*” upon the *Annotations* of Ruddiman. The reader is wearied, and confounded; but, he is neither convinced, nor informed. Considering Buchanan as infallible, the critics only laboured to demonstrate, how easily prejudice may convert falsehoods into facts, and ungrateful scandals into fair reports.

About the Life of Buchanan, the associated editors shewed still more zealous anxiety. They criticized the critic most unmercifully. But they did not instruct the reader. They did not reveal then what had not been revealed before. They had not sent to St. Andrews, and to Paris, in order to ascertain the dates of Buchanan’s literary honours. They had not searched the records for the successive epochs of his political preferments. They had not ransacked the state papers for anecdotes, which had more clearly illustrated his genuine character. They only laboured, with the powers of impotence, to criminate his editor. The days, however, are past, when writers, who have only their captious-

“tion of Buchanan.”—A short preface sufficiently instructs the reader as to the contents of this *elaborate* volume.—“This
“contains an apologie for publesing a new and correct
“edition of the illustrious George Buchanan’s works, in-
“tended by some eminent and learned men anno 1717, as a
“most critical and just vindication of that incomparably
“learned and pious author, from the aspersions and calum-
“nys of Mr. Thomas Rudeman, in Mr. Robert Freebairn’s
edition of Buchanan’s works, anno 1715.”—Then follow the names of the associated critics.

ness to recommend them, can hope to find a reader, even among the abettors of faction.

Urged by a peculiar fervour of admiration, the associated critics wrote to Holland, where they heard, that the works of Buchanan were to be printed; offering their aid, biographical, historical, and political. It was Langerak, the bookseller of Leyden, who, from I know not what encouragement, had engaged in that project, with Burman, for his editor. Langerak and Burman long expected the promised documents, which were to confute Freebairn's preface, and to explode Ruddiman's annotations. With the impatience of a bookseller, who has advanced his money, Langerak urged Burman to proceed; alledging, as his preface told the readers, "that the boastings of the favourers of Buchanan, in Scotland, were perhaps idle and vain." Being thus disappointed, by their frivolousness, Burman published his edition of Buchanan's works, in 1725, *with Ruddiman's Preface and Notes, as they were*, and with a few critical annotations of his own; but he did not trouble himself much about the facts, or the falsehoods, of his author; as the language, rather than the morals, of Buchanan, was his object.

The zeal of our associated critics was not in the least cooled, by the disgrace of being thus exposed to the public. They continued to promise an edition of Buchanan, with a confutation of Ruddiman,

man, *when subscribers should be found*. But, the subscription never filled; and so their promise never was performed. They were better warriors than editors. During forty years, they kept up a *bush-firing* against Ruddiman, who did not yield to the repeated attacks of the enemy, even after he had been weakened by age, and was at length disabled by blindness.

Ruddiman's connection with Freebairn, and printing, induced him to think, that he too might exercise an art, the hand-maid of that literature, to which he had devoted his life. The year 1715 may be considered as the æra of his commencing printer. His brother Walter, who had been born, in 1687, and had come to Edinburgh in 1706; and who, at the age of nineteen, had begun to work with Freebairn, (r) was, in 1715, admitted

(r) In Ruddiman's pocket-book there is the following entry:—"22d October 1706, Walter Ruddiman entered to the printer trade; having agreed with Mr. Robert Freebairn upon these terms, viz. That he should maintain himself, and the said Robert is to pay him journeyman's wages, whenever he shall be able to work sufficiently; and it was provided, that the said Walter should stay with the said Robert, he furnishing him with work, and giving him as good wages as any in Edinburgh." Robert Freebairn was the son of David Freebairn, who, while he was minister at Dunning was consecrated Bishop of Edinburgh on the 17th of October 1724, and died on the 24th of December 1739. His son Robert was, mean time, settled, at Edinburgh, as a bookseller; and, in 1706, purchased of Mr. John Spottiswoode,

admitted a partner, in the *materials*, but not in the *house*, though both were equal sharers in the profit and the loss. (s) This copartnership may be said to have continued during the life of Thomas, who for a short time, indeed, relinquished his printing business to his son. Walter Ruddiman was of an athletic person; having his brother's intellect, without his brother's learning. He was, in every period, an industrious printer, and an honest man. He married Janet, a daughter of Duncanson of Kyle, in Argyleshire, a gentleman of a small estate. His wife brought him eight children, of whom six died in their infancy, and two daughters survived him. One of these, Janet, married Robert Smith, a surgeon of Edinburgh, by whom she had two children, who outlived her; And, Anne, who married John Hutton, one of the magistrates of Edinburgh, and is still alive, has one son and four daughters. The two copartners were men of great pru-

Spottiswoode, the advocate beforementioned, a printing-press, which he had established for printing law-books. Freebairn, then, began to print in 1706. It was on the 11th of August 1711, that Robert Freebairn, James Watson, and John Basket, were appointed the royal printers in Scotland, for forty-one years, from the expiration of the grant to Andrew Anderson.

(s) The articles of copartnership, dated the 16th of May 1748, recite, that they had begun to print from the year 1715; and that Walter had been an equal sharer in the profit and the loss, though he was only a partner in the *materials*, but not in the *house*.

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dence, and happy tempers, which enabled them to live together, in the midst of much business, and frequent intercourse, for half a century, without a dispute, and without jealousy.

It will easily be allowed, that Thomas Ruddiman was the most learned printer, that North Britain has ever enjoyed. Inquisitive men have often endeavoured, without success, to discover, when the typographic art was introduced into Scotland. The discovery, which had eluded so many inquiries, hath been at length made, by searching the records. It was the intelligent, and industrious, William Robertson of the *General Register-House*, who, to gratify my desire, discovered a patent of king James IV; which plainly demonstrates, that a printing-press was first established, at Edinburgh, during the year 1507, at the end of thirty years, after that interesting trade had been brought to Westminster, by Caxton. (t) The first printers were Walter Chepman, a merchant, in Edinburgh, and Androw Myllar, a mere workman. With the learning of Ruddiman their talents could enter into no competition. Their immediate successors were not more learned. At the commencement of the seventeenth century, the printers of Edinburgh were general-

(t) I had the honour to present a paper to the Antiquary Society of London, which gave an account of the discovery of the before-mentioned patent; and which was read before that learned body on the 1st of December 1791.

ly booksellers, who, having acquired some wealth, could purchase a press, and employ artificers; but knew no more of books, than the title-page, and the price. Andro Hart, who is justly praised, by Watson, for his well-printed Bible, was only a bookseller. Scotland was soon after supplied with printers chiefly from England. But, however illiterate, they had the merit of reforming the language, and settling, by silent practice, the orthography of the North. These men, who practised the art, without possessing the erudition, of which it is the herald, could not dispute with Ruddiman the palm of literature. Henry Stephens himself would have scarcely complained of Ruddiman, as one of those printers, who had brought the typographic art into contempt, by their illiterature. (u) When we recollect his Gawin Douglas, and Buchanan, his Rudiments, and his Grammars, his Livy, and his Vindication of Buchanan's Psalms, wherein competent judges have found the knowledge of a scholar, and the accuracy of a critic, we may fairly place Ruddiman in the honourable list of learned printers, with Badius and Aldus, with the Stephens's and Jansens.

The first production of Ruddiman's press was the second volume of *Abercromby's Martial At-*

(u) See a quarto pamphlet, printed in 1569, entitled :—
 “ Artis typographicæ QUERIMONIA, de illiteratis quibus-
 “ dam typographis, propter quos in contemptum venit. Au-
 “ tore Henrico Stephano.”

chievements. (x) With his accustomed prudence, he probably printed, during several years, very inconsiderable books. He was perhaps principally occupied with the juridical papers of lawyers, or with school-books for children. He printed ere long a book, which has engaged the attention of historians. Such was the first volume of *the Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, which was printed, in *Ædibus Thomæ Ruddimanni*, in 1722. The second volume was finished by him, in 1724. (y) To each, there is an appropriate preface, which was plainly written by Ruddiman, and clearly shews that he was the editor of these historical documents, as well as the printer. (z). Finding these Epistles in *The Advocates Library*, among

(x) In the statement, which Ruddiman made of his property, on the 1st of October 1735, there is among the outstanding debts the following article: "For the one half of the printing the second volume of Abercromby's *Martial Atchievements*, which is still due, 35 l." This entry proves, that he had begun to print in 1715, when that book was published, and that he had printed the one half of it.

(y) Walter Ruddiman was not mentioned in the title-page of books with Thomas, till August 1727, when Walter was admitted into partnership in the *house*, as he had been from 1715, in the *materials*. [Contract of copartnership.]

(z) This work is mentioned in the Catalogue of the Advocates Library, which was compiled chiefly by Ruddiman, in the following manner: "Epistolæ Regum Scotiæ ab an. 1505 ad an. 1545, ex editione Thomæ Ruddimanni. 2 tom. Edin. 1722 and 1724, in 8vo."

the

the manuscripts of Balfour, he delivered them to the world, with an useful appendix of public papers, as illustrations of history. In 1724, Ruddiman printed HERODIAN, with the Greek and Latin, in correspondent columns, for John Paton, a bookseller, at Edinburgh, the father of George Paton, who has been already praised, for the variety of his knowledge, and the readiness of his communication. The preface of Paton, the bookseller, was probably written by Ruddiman, the printer.

The origin of printing, and the establishment of societies for the cultivation of letters, are interesting objects, in the annals of literature, and in the lives of scholars. Scotland is indebted to the liberality of King James IV. for the introduction of typography: She owes to the munificence of King George III. the erection of societies for cultivating useful science, and elegant knowledge. It was, mean time, the activity, and genius, of private persons, which first formed individuals into voluntary meetings, for communicating mutual instruction. And, the year 1718 saw several learned men establish, at Edinburgh, an association, for improving each other in classical lore, *without meddling with the affairs of Church or State.* (a) The masters of the High School, and Ruddiman, were the ori-

(a) This article was a fundamental, and a necessary, rule of the society, at that epoch.

ginal members of this laudable institution. They were afterwards joined by Henry Home, the well-known Lord Kaimes, who had from nature an insatiable appetite for information of every kind. He was followed by Mr. Archibald Murray, Mr. James Cochran, with other advocates, and Mr. George Wishart, one of the ministers of Edinburgh. This, then, is the first literary society, which appears, from any authentic document, to have statedly assembled in Scotland. (*b*) But, whether the conversations of the members were preserved, or their dissertations published, cannot now be ascertained.

This association, of which Ruddiman merits the honour of being an original founder, was succeeded, in 1731, by the society for *the improvement of medical knowledge*, as the former had been, for the cultivation of the literature of Rome, and of Greece. The Medical Society, as the members collected facts, has contributed more to the propagation of beneficial skill. And when its *Transactions* were published, under the title of *Medical Essays and Observations*, their merits were praised by Haller, and their usefulness was allowed by the world. The Medical Society was ere long, in the progress of improvement, expanded, by the agency of the illustrious

(*b*) I found an account of this society in a manuscript note, of the hand-writing, of Ruddiman, at the end of the pamphlet, entitled *Furians*.

Mac-

Maclaurin, into the *Philosophical Society* of Edinburgh, which, after it had languished for years, assumed a new form, and a higher tone, and published, in 1754, a volume of *Essays and Observations, Physical and Literary*. These voluntary associations led on to the establishment of the chartered societies, by his present Majesty. Ruddiman had not to boast of being a fellow, either of the Medical, or the Philosophical, Society; being engaged, mean while, in other studies, and performing, diligently, other duties.

Neither his attentions to *The Library*, his cares for *the Press*, nor his application to *Philology*, prevented our grammarian from contributing, at the same time, to the labours of other learned men, by the activity of his kindness, and the accuracy of his knowledge. When Hearn, the Oxford antiquary, was preparing his elaborate edition of *Fordun's Scotichronicon*, he experienced this aid from Ruddiman, who collated manuscripts for him, and gave him his remarks. Hearn spoke of Ruddiman, in his preface, when his *Fordun* appeared, in 1722, as his friend, as his *learned* friend. They were, indeed, congenial spirits: Congenial in their modesty, and diligence, in the extent of their learning, and in the utility of their labours.

This pleasing intercourse, which ought to be recollected, that it may be imitated, did not long prevent our grammarian from furnishing the

schools, in 1723, with *Ovidij decerpta ex metamor-
seôn*, containing English notes by Willymot, and
by Ruddiman. (c) In this publication, he looked
for gain, rather than for honour; and he certainly
found what he sought in the end.

This work, which was of easy performance, did
not long interrupt his accustomed studies. He was
now busy upon a performance, which brought great
profit to his family, which established his fame,
and did honour to his country. It was his *Gram-
maticæ Latinæ Institutiones*, which were published
in 1725. This book was printed in *Ædibus
Auctoris*. (d) It was dedicated to his masters
and patrons, *the Advocates*, and to Robert Dun-
das, the Dean of Faculty, an illustrious lawyer,
to whose skill, eloquence, and courage, Scotland
owes the important right, which juries had not
exercised for ages before [1728,] of finding
upon the general issue, guilty, or not guilty. (e)
It was the *Pars Prima*, which treated of *etymo-
logy*, that was in this manner dedicated, in 1725,
to those, who were most worthy of his dedica-
tion: The *Pars Secunda*, which investigated

(c) It was printed at Edinburgh, in 12mo.

(d) It was entered at Stationer's Hall, for Thomas Rud-
diman, on the 4th of January 1725-6.

(e) Arnot's Criminal Trials, p. 190-91; where the cu-
rious reader will see the names of the jurymen, to whom their
country owes thankful recollection for one of its best pri-
vileges.

syntax,

syntax, was delivered to the learned world, in 1731.

The Rudiments of Ruddiman had gradually effaced the prejudices of schoolmasters, by the facility of their method, and the precision of their rules. They by these means made their way into general use. They were even translated into other languages, and were soon adopted into the literature of other countries. (f) But, when the *Grammatical Institutes* successively appeared, they not only gave additional value to the *Rudiments*, but obtained universal approbation, for the judiciousness, with which the hand of a master had written them. The philological labours of Ruddiman were, in this manner, received into the schools of Scotland, by their usefulness, though opposed by prejudice: He lived to see seven editions of his *Grammatical Institutes* sent

(f) Mr. Brown of the Advocates Library kindly communicated to me the copy of a letter, which was dated the 16th of June 1742, from the Rev. J. a. Porte, who was one of the regents of the college of Geneva, and had translated Ruddiman's *Rudiments* into French; and which was written to Ruddiman in a very encomiastic strain, with respect both to the author, and his book. Mr. professor Porte's work was entitled: "Rudimens de la Langue Latine, ou Introduction simple & aisée a la Grammaire Latine, traduit de l'Anglois de Mons. Ruddiman, par J. a. Porte, Ministre du St. Evangile, & Regent au College de Geneve. Geneve, 1742. 8vo."

into the world, (g) with the royal licence to enjoy exclusively what he had laboriously earned.

If we trace these interesting notices a little farther, we shall find, that the history of teaching, in Scotland, and the progress of literature, are both interwoven with the life, and labours, of Ruddiman. The High School of Edinburgh may not improperly be deemed the philological representative of the grammar schools of Scotland. From the epoch of the revival of learning, when the *Prymar*, and the *Plain Donat*, were exclusively taught, to the middle of the last century, this useful seminary had made successive improvements, in its system of instruction, under the care of the town-council of Edinburgh. This truth will appear from the *Ordo Scholæ Grammaticæ Edinensis*, (b) during the year 1640, which contains many curious particulars, with regard to the modes of instruction, at that busy period, when fanaticism, though it pervaded the state, seems not to have entered the school.

1st
Class.

In the first year, and during the first six months; the children were to be taught the principles of grammar, in *vernaculo sermone*. They were at the same time

(g) The eighth edition was published, in 1762.

(b) This paper I found among the collections of Mr. Macky, the late professor of history at Edinburgh, which were obligingly communicated to me by Principal Mac Cormack of St. Andrew's.

to

to learn the Latin names of every thing, on earth, and in heaven. During the second six months; the children were daily to repeat a certain portion of grammar; and, they were incidentally to be taught particular sentences, relating to life and manners.

2d
Class. } In the second year, and during the first six months; the children were to repeat daily certain parts of grammar, but more particularly, as the same are laid down by Despauter; and to translate the same into English: moreover, they were to read Cordery's Colloquies. During the second six months, the children were to be taught daily the Syntax of Erasmus; and the masters were to teach, and the scholars to learn, in the Latin language.

3d
Class. } Through the whole of the third year; the boys were to repeat daily, a portion of etymology and syntax; to be exercised in reading Cicero's Epistles de Senectute, de Amicitio; Terence's Comedies and Elegies; Ovid's Tristium; Buchanan's Psalms; and to translate Cicero's Epistles. They were to read the same *clara voce*.

4th
Class. } In the fourth year; the boys were to repeat daily, for the first month, what they had already learned. To be taught Buchanan's Profody, with Despauter's Select Rules, and Buchanan's Epigrams and Poetry. During the other months, the boys were
to

to be exercised in poetry, and in the practice of the rules of grammar; to read Virgil, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Horace, Buchanan's *Psalms*; and to translate Cicero, Cæsar, and Terence. The beauties of these authors were to be explained to the scholars.

5th Class. } In the fifth year; the boys were to study the whole Rhetoric of Tulæus [Tully] and the greater part of the compendious Rhetoric of Cassandæus. They were to read Cicero's Orations, and the short speeches in Sallust, in Virgil, and in Lucan. They were to read distinctly and audibly; and to declaim.

Such was the plan of education, in the High School of Edinburgh, during the middle of the last century. The town-council was studious to enforce this system, for its usefulness. The magistrates steadily prohibited the *vulgar schoolmasters* from teaching Latin: (*i*) They were careful

(*i*) There are the following entries on the council-books of the city of Edinburgh:—" November 1660, vulgar schoolmasters were discharged from teaching Latin. " There was a similar prohibition, in May 1661. In August 1668, there passed an act, prohibiting any person from teaching Latin, except the masters of the High School. In March 1679, there was issued a proclamation, prohibiting single persons from keeping private or public grammar schools, within the city or suburbs of Edinburgh. " These prohibitions were repeated in December 1693, " when

careful to provide teachers of English, writing, and arithmetic: and they authorized a master of music, and an instructor in French.

From this plan, however the town-council somewhat departed, when it ordained, in September, 1696, Wedderburn's Rudiments to be taught in the High School. (k) The Grammar of Wedderburn appears to have been virtually superseded by the Institutes of Ruddiman. These *Grammatical Institutes*, owing to their evident utility, have kept possession of the High School, even to our own days.

But, an attempt has been lately made to expel the grammar of Ruddiman from the High School, not by open violence, or avowed authority, but by silent circumvention. It was Dr. Alexander Adam, the present rector of that great seminary, who attempted this; a master of extensive learning, but of some conceitedness; to whom the world is, however, indebted for an

“ when the doors of private schools were ordered to be
 “ closed; and in June 1694. In July 1663, James Gib
 “ was authorized to be the schoolmaster of *music*. In November
 “ 1663, Louis Buisson was admitted schoolmaster to teach
 “ French, and arithmetic, and to set up a sign for that
 “ end.” But, it appears from Maitland's History of Edinburgh, p. 34, that in 1574, the town-council agreed with a Frenchman to teach children French, and arithmetic; for each of whom, he was to receive twenty-five shillings Scots, and from the town a salary of twenty pounds a year.

(k) The town-council's records of that date.

admirable

admirable Compendium of *Roman Antiquities*. The four masters, who teach subordinatedly to him, resisted this attempt. Being "clearly of opinion, that Ruddiman's Grammar is beyond comparison, the most compleat and correct system of Latin grammar, that ever was composed," the four masters continued to teach it in their several classes. The rector taught, in the fifth form, his own rules, in his own way. And, in this manner, was introduced into the High School, about the year 1778, an academical absurdity, which had seldom or never occurred in pedagogical annals before, the teaching of two grammars, in one school.

The High School suffered in its fame, and declined in its numbers, while the masters disagreed in sentiment, and differed in practice. An appeal was at length made to the provost and town-council of Edinburgh, the patrons and visitors of this celebrated school.

It was in February 1785, that the Lord Provost, when he considered the high trust of preserving the discipline, and retaining the usefulness, of an invaluable seminary, laid this appeal before the magistrates. The business was thought too weighty for their unassisted decision. And they formally referred it to Doctor Robertson, the principal of the college of Edinburgh, to the professor of Greek, and to the professor of Latin, who were to report their opinion, what grammar ought to be taught

taught for the acquirement of learning, and what regulations ought to be established for promoting peace, and preserving discipline, in the High School. An opinion was now looked for, which was to silence litigiousness, by the force of its authority, and to allay pedagogical feuds, by the reasonableness of its argument.

In October 1785, the principal and professors made their report, in answer to the reference of the magistrates. They gave it as their opinion, that the use of Ruddiman's Grammar ought to be continued in the school; being the work of a very learned, experienced, and judicious master, of the Latin tongue; and being almost generally taught in the schools of the kingdom. In order to gain the advantages of uniformity, the judicious referees recommended that the four masters, after mature consultation, should select, from Ruddiman's Grammar, such rules, or parts of rules, as they should think necessary to be taught in their several classes. And, with design to make uniformity subservient to conciliation, and to carry reconciliation into practice, the referendaries desired the rector to continue the use of such rules in his class, adding any other rules, or grammatical observations, which he might find in his own grammar, or which he might deem useful, in connecting the English with the Latin grammar.

The four masters of the High School, James French, Luke Frazer, William Cruikshank, and
William

William Nicol, were neither convinced by the reasonings, nor awed by the authority of the referees. They saw with grief, that by their report, permission was given to the teaching of two grammars in the same school. During thirteen years, they had experienced the bad effects of this unsuitable practice. They had seen it check the progress of instruction. They had observed, that their pupils were less acquainted with grammar, at the end of the fifth year, than they had been at the termination of the fourth. They persevered in their opinion, that Ruddiman's Grammar was undoubtedly the most correct system of Latin grammar, that had ever been published. And thinking, that their silence would be regarded by the world as the guilt of betraying the best interests of classical education, in Edinburgh, and of diffusing a bad example, through the kingdom, they represented these circumstances to the magistrates, in November 1785; praying, that the scholars of the High School might be protected in their studies, and the grammatical labours of Ruddiman might be restored to their rights.

Whatever influence may have been opposed to these just representations, the voice of truth was at length heard. The lord provost and town-council, having considered the subject, on the 23d of August 1786, directed the rector and masters to teach their scholars by Ruddiman's Rudi-
ments,

ments, and Grammar ; and prohibited any other grammar to be used in the High School. But, the pertinacity of pedantry seemed to emulate the perseverance of Sisyphus. Doctor Adam, in his turn, tried to convince the magistrates, that boys would be less confounded, and better taught, by studying successively two grammars, than if confined to one. Yet, the lord provost and town-council were not convinced, that grammatical knowledge was to be most easily and accurately learned by double labour. And, on the 29th of November 1786, they renewed their former order, as visitors, in favour of Ruddiman's Grammar ; and at last annexed penalties to the disobedience of their injunctions.

While the philological honour of Ruddiman was, in this manner, vindicated, the peace of the school seems not to have been settled. The parental preference, which Doctor Adam naturally gave to his own grammar, appears to have excited the contempt of the subordinate masters. Contempt easily begat contumely. The subordination of the boys was lessened by bad example. And, a complaint was again made to the magistrates, as visitors ; who, having heard all parties, found, as it generally happens, all parties in some measure to blame. It was the lord provost Stirling, who calmed these contests of the High School, with the same ability, and address, where-
with

with he suppressed, at a subsequent period, the fiercer tumults in the city. (l)

There were published, mean time, at Edinburgh, in 1725, for the use of schools; by William Adams, *Buchanan's Psalms*, with *the Notes of Ruddiman*, a person, says the publisher, in his preface, who ought ever to be mentioned with commendation, for his learning and his probity. The venders of literature, and the learned, mutually promote the profit of each other. The booksellers were now studious to praise the virtues of our grammarian, which contributed so greatly to their wealth.

It was perhaps to the disputatious temper of pedagogues, that we owe the *Selecta Poemata Archibaldi Pitcarnij*, which were published, at Edinburgh, by Freebairn, in 1727. (m) There was a most erudite preface by Freebairn, which had probably been written by Ruddiman. It was composed, and printed, by them, with a strong recollection, of Burman's *Buchanani Opera*, which had been published two years before. With the petulance of pedantry, Burman had spoken contemptuously of Scottish literature; allowing how-

(l) See in THE APPENDIX, No 5. copies of the acts of the magistrates of Edinburgh; and of the representations of the masters of the High School; whereby the use of Ruddiman's Rudiments and Grammar was finally established, in that seminary.

(m) Of this little, but elegant, work, there was a second edition, printed at London, in 1729, for Andrew Millar.

ever, what perhaps heightened the offence, that Buchanan had genius, and erudition. For this literary folly, Burman was now scholastically chastised. In opposition to the censure of Burman, Ruddiman produced Volufenus, Blackwood, Dempster, and the two Barclays, in ethics, and antiquities. With regard to Latin poetry, it was asked, who have the Dutch to oppose to Arthur Johnston, and the contributors to *The Deliciæ Poetarum Scotorum*, but their Bronkhufius and Hoogstratan? The admirable Crichton was confronted with the elegant Erasmus. Cragius, the feudalist, was opposed to Grotius, the civilian, though, I think, with very inferior pretensions. The fact really is, that during a long period, after the revival of letters, learned Scotsmen were numerous spread over Europe, who carried large contributions to the literature of every country, except their own. Peter Burman died in 1741; after giving elaborate commentaries on Phædrus, Lucan, and other classics, with five volumes, in quarto, of *Letters from the Learned*. He left behind him a great character for extensive erudition, and critical acumen.

The fair opportunity, which the publication of this little volume furnished, was not lost of speaking in respect to the genius, science, and poetry of Pitcairne, with deserved commendations. Among other encomiastic verses, in praise of that great physician, was printed, in this collection, the ele-

gy of Ruddiman. To this book of verses, small as it was, Sir William Scot of Thirlestane, and Thomas Kincaid, a citizen of Edinburgh, were contributors. Men of judgement have lamented, that the Latin poetry of Pitcairn should have fallen into oblivion, without much hope of revival. (n) But, Pitcairn, with all his genius, his elegance, and his vigour, has only met with the fate of those, who delight more to catch at temporary topicks, than to cultivate subjects of lasting attraction, and of solid worth.

While Ruddiman endeavoured, by those efforts, to vindicate his country's genius, he extended his active assistance to literary friends. During the time, that the erudite Ker was preparing his *Cantici Solomonis Paraphrasis gemina* for the press, he experienced this friendly help from Ruddiman. When he published his *Paraphrase*, (o) in 1727, his gratitude made prefatory mention of Ruddiman's kindness. John Ker, who was born

(n) I have a comedy of Pitcairne, entitled, *The Assembly*. It was printed at London, in 1722, without any printer's name; and it was said to be by a Scots Gentleman. Under this is written in my copy by a very old hand; "*Dr. Pitcairne.*" By *the Assembly* he means the Meeting of the Kirk of Scotland. It is unnecessary to add, that *this comedy* is personal and political, sarcastic and prophane. It never could have been acted on any stage.

(o) It was printed in ædibus Tho. Ruddimanni, impensis Auctoris. 1727. 12°. I am so fortunate as to possess the copy, which Ker presented to Benson, in 1739.

at Dunblane, first rose by his learning to be professor of Greek, in the King's College, Aberdeen; and, being afterwards elevated to a chair, in the university of Edinburgh, he repaid early attention with steady friendship.

While Ruddiman was in this manner exerting his usual friendliness, he was doomed to sustain another shock of domestic woe. His second wife died, in 1727; and, by the same stroke of death, he was deprived of an useful associate, and a constant friend. He consoled himself by reflecting that,

“Æquâ lege necessitas

“Sortitur insignes et imos.”

He became ere long ambitious of the honour, or desirous of the profit, which were annexed to the office of the university printer. The college of Edinburgh, while it was yet in its infancy, began to print its *Theses Philosophicæ*, in 1596. (p) Its earliest typographer was Henry Charteris, the king's printer. (q) He was succeeded by Tho-

(p) The first thesis was in large octavo. These academical themes assumed a quarto form in 1612. And before the year 1641, their size settled into a large folio. There is a collection of these papers in the College Library, which are valuable documents for the literary annals of the university of Edinburgh.

(q) *Theses philosophicæ, quarum patrocinium susceperunt adololescentes laureæ candidati, easdem popugnaturi, Aug. die 2 iu æde sacra regii collegii, præside G. R. sub horam 8 matutinam, Edinb. ex officii H. Charteris: 1596. [Herb. Typ. An. vol. 3. p. 1516; and p. 1521.]*

mas Finlason, who also succeeded Charteris, as royal printer. They were followed by various other printers, who were probably employed, without any specific authority. James Lindsay was the first, who, in 1645, stiled himself *Typographus Academiae*. The magistrates of Edinburgh, as patrons of the college, certainly appointed Lindsay to this office, whatever may have then been its profits, or its honour. From their authority, Gideon Lithgo became his successor, in 1647, who called himself *printer to the college*. On the 10th of June 1663, “the magistrates appointed Andrew Anderson to be ordinar printer to the good town and college of the samen, in place of Gideon Lithgo, deceased, during pleasure; he serving als well and als easie in the prices as utheris.” (r) The widow, and the heirs, of Andrew Anderson, continued to print for the city, and college, till the establishment of Ruddiman’s press. (s) And, with the patriotic purpose of supplying Scotland with school-books, at a cheaper price, the magistrates of Edinburgh, in February 1728, appointed James Davidson, and Thomas Ruddiman, joint printers to the university, during the lives of

(r) City Records.

(s) The magistrates of Edinburgh, on the 4th of November 1702, allowed a salary of one hundred and sixty marks, Scots, to the printer of the college. [City Records of that date.]

both, and during *the life of the longest liver.* (t)

The time was now come, when Ruddiman was to engage in a work of more permanency, and greater profit, than the preface, however erudite, to the poems of his patron, or the employment, however gainful, of the college. He had already become

(t) The following is a copy of the appointment, from the city records. “ At Edinburgh the 21st of February 1728: ———“ The same day anent the petition given in by Mr. “ James Davidson, bookseller in Edinburgh, and Mr. Tho- “ mas Ruddiman, under keeper of the Advocates Library, “ mentioning, That whereas the far greater part of the “ books taught in our schools and colleges are imported “ from foreign places into this country, to the great discour- “ ragement of their own manufactories. And the petitioners “ being well assured, that if the council, patrons of the uni- “ versity of this city, would be pleased to constitute them “ printers to the said university, they will be enabled to print “ the above-mentioned books better, and furnish them at “ easier rates than the country could be otherways provided “ of them; and that the importation of such books from fo- “ reign places will be thereby in a great measure prevented: “ Craving therefore the council to constitute and appoint “ the petitioners conjoint printers to the said university, “ with all the rights, privileges, and emoluments, thereto “ belonging, for such a term of years, as the council should “ think fit; as the petition bears, which being considered “ by the council, they with the extraordinary deacons no- “ minated and elected, and hereby nominats and elects the “ said Mr. James Davidson and Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, to “ be conjoint printers to the university of this city, and “ longest liver of them two, during their respective lives.”

become the printer, and was ere long to be the proprietor, of a news-paper. From such an editor, much of instruction, and something of amusement, must have doubtless been expected. Yet, were we to inspect the pages of his news-paper, we should not discover much of his activity, as a man, or any of his erudition, as a scholar.

The origin of news-papers, those pleasant vehicles of instruction, those entertaining companions of our mornings, has not yet been investigated with the precision, which is undoubtedly due to what has been emphatically called one of the safeguards of our privileges. We are still unacquainted with the name of our first news-paper, and we are still ignorant of the epoch of its original publication.

The intelligent Editor of *Doddsley's Old Plays* has, indeed, told the English world, though with less certainty than confidence, "that *Gallo-Belgicus* was the name of the first news-paper, published in England:" And, he maintains his position from *ancient Plays*, and draws his proofs from *obsolete Poetry*: May's comedy of the *Heir*, which was first acted, in 1620, opens in the following manner:—

Polymetes.

Hast thou divulged the news,
That my son died at Athens?

Roscio.

Yes; my Lord,

With

With every circumstance, the time, the place,
And manner of his death ; that 'tis believed,
And told for news, with as much confidence,
As if 'twere writ in *Gallo-Belgicus*. (u)

Inquiring for the certainty of facts, rather than the fictions of poetry, I went to the British Museum, where I saw, and handled, GALLO-BELGICUS. This collection, which had once belonged to the King's Library, shows plainly, though it is not compleat, the nature of the work. It may be called, *The State of Europe* ; or, *The Annual Register* ; or it may be entitled more truly, *The History of his own Times*: But, it is not a news-paper. (x)

Gallo-

(u) To the above text is subjoined the following note:—

“ Cleveland, in his character of a *London Diurnal*, says :
“ The original sinners of this kind was Dutch, GALLO-BEL-
“ GICUS, the *Protoplast*, and the *Modern Mercuries*, but *Hans-*
“ *en-Kelders*. The exact time, when they were printed, I am
“ unable to discover ; but, they certainly were, as early as
“ the reign of Queen Elizabeth ; some intelligence given by
“ MERCURIUS GALLO-BELGICUS being mentioned in
“ *Carew's Survey of Cornwall*, page 126, which was origi-
“ nally published in 1602 : Doctor Donne, in his verses on
“ *Thom. Coryate's Crudities*, 1611, says :

————— “ To *Gallo-Belgicus* appear

“ As deep a statesman as a Gazetteer.

“ Beaumont and Fletcher mention *Gallo-Belgicus* in the
“ *Fair Maid of the Inn*. Act 4 ; Ben Jonson, in the Poet-
“ after, Act 5. S. 3 ; and Clapthorne also, in his *Wit in a*
“ *Constable*.”

(x) *Gallo-Belgicus* was written in the Latin language ; and

Gallo-Belgicus seems to have been the first contemporary author, who, in modern times, detailed events, as they arose. He appears to have been well received; the first volume, which was printed for the widow of Godfred Karpenfis, having run through a second edition, before the year 1603, with additions, and amendments. The fourth volume, which was published, in 1603, was compiled by Gaspar Lorchan, for William Lutzenkirch. Success soon gave rise to rivalry. The fifth volume appears to have been collected by Gotard Arthus, for Sigismond Latom, and to have been printed at FRANKFORT, in 1605. This was plainly a rival work. GALLO-BELGICUS was now published half-yearly with a title-page and index to every volume; and was now, for the first time, usefully ornamented with maps. It was written, as late as the year 1605, by John Philip Abel, and was printed, for the heirs of Latom, with the Emperor's special privilege. (y) I

had the following title: "MERCURIJ GALLO BELGICI: five, rerum in Gallia, et Belgio potissimum: Hispania quoque, Italia, Anglia, Germania, Polonia, Vicinisque locis ab anno 1588, ad Martium anni 1594, gestarum, NUNCIJ." The first compiler of *Gallo-Belgicus* was M. Jansen, a Frisian. And the first volume in 8vo. containing six hundred and fifty pages, was printed at Cologne, in 1598. It was ornamented with a wooden cut, representing Mercury standing on a globe, with his usual attributes.

(y) The 15th tome carries *Gallo-Belgicus* down to the year 1630. How long it continued I know not. About that epoch arose in other countries various competitors for the public favour.

flatter

flatter myself, the inquisitive reader is now sufficiently acquainted with the parentage, and performances, of GALLO-BELGICUS, of whom the poets, and the editor of poets, seem only from

“ Rumour’s tongue to have idly heard.”

When Paul came to Athens, he perceived, that the Athenians, and the strangers, residing there, spent their time in little more than “ either to tell, or to hear some new thing.” (z) At a period, more early, perhaps, than the time of Paul, the government of China distributed, through that most extensive empire, a written paper, containing a list of the Mandarins, who were appointed to rule in every province. Yet, this Chinese *Red Book*, which was afterwards printed, and is still distributed, can scarcely be deemed a news-paper.

Venice is entitled to the honour of having produced the first *Gazetta*, as early as the year 1536. It was compiled upon the plan, which was afterwards adopted by Gallo-Belgicus, and contained much intelligence, both of Italy, and even of the rest of Europe. Yet, a jealous government did not allow a *printed* news-paper. And, the Venetian *Gazetta* continued long after the invention of printing, to the close of the sixteenth century, and even to our own days, to be distributed in manuscript. (a)

After

(z) Acts xvii. 21.

(a) In the Magliabechian library at Florence, there are thirty volumes of Venetian *Gazzettas*, which commenced in 1536,

After inquiring, in various, countries, for the origin of news-papers, I had the satisfaction to find what I sought for in England. It may gratify our national pride to be told, that mankind are indebted to the wisdom of Elizabeth, and the prudence of Burleigh, for the first news-paper. The epoch of the Spanish Armada is also the epoch of a genuine news-paper. In the British Museum, there are several news-papers, which had been printed while the Spanish fleet was in the English Channel, during the year 1588. (*b*) It was a wise policy, to prevent, during a moment of general anxiety, the danger of false reports, by publishing real information. And, the earliest news-paper is entitled, *THE ENGLISH MERCURIE*, which, by *Authority*, "was imprinted, at London, " by Christopher Barker, her Highnesses printer, 1588." (*c*)

Burleigh's

1536, and which are all in manuscript. In the frontispiece of each paper, it is called the *Gazetta* of such a year. But, those curious papers were not all written at Venice, many of them being composed at Rome, and at other places in Italy. Lord Burghly, writing to Lord Talbot, on the 23d of October 1590, says, "I pray your lordship esteem my news as " those, which, in Venice, are fraught in the *Gazetta*." [Lodge's Illustrations of History.] "I pray you, in your next," says James Howell to Mr. Leat, "send me the Venetian *Gazetta*." [Letters, 9th July 1627.]

(*b*) Sloan MSS. No. 4:06.

(*c*) The first news-paper, which is preserved, in this collection is, No. 50, and is in Roman, not in black, letter. It contains

Burleigh's news-papers were all *Extraordinary Gazettes*, which were published from time to time, as that profound statesman wished, either to inform, or to terrify the people. *The Mercuries* were probably first printed, in April 1588, when the Armada approached the shores of England. After the Spanish ships had been dispersed by a wonderful exertion of prudence, and spirit, these *Extraordinary Gazettes* very seldom appeared. The *Mercurie*, No. 54, which is dated, on Monday, November the 24th 1588, informed the public, that the solemn thanksgiving for the successes, which had been obtained against the Spanish Armada, was this day strictly observed. This

contains the usual articles of news, like the London Gazette of the present day. In that curious paper there are news, dated from Whitehall, on the 23d of July 1588. Under the date of July the 26th, there is the following notice: "Yesterday
" the Scots Ambassador, being introduced by Sir Francis
" Walsingham, had a private audience of her Majesty, to
" whom he delivered a letter from the King his master;
" containing the most cordial assurances of his resolution to
" adhere to her Majesty's interests, and to those of the Pro-
" testant religion. And it may not here be improper to take
" notice of a wise and spirited saying of this young prince
" [he was twenty-two] to the Queen's minister at his court,
" viz. That all the favour he did expect from the Spaniards
" was the courtesy of Polypheme to Ulysses, *to be the last de-*
" *voured.*"——I defy the Gazetteer of the present day to
give a more decorous account of the introduction of a foreign
minister. The aptness of King James's classical saying, carried
it from the news-paper into history.

number contains also an article of news from Madrid, which speaks of putting the Queen to death, and of the instruments of torture, that were on board the Spanish fleet. We may suppose, that such paragraphs were designed by the policy of Burleigh, who understood all the artifices of printing, to excite the terrors of the English people, to point their resentment against Spain, and to inflame their love for Elizabeth. (*d*)

Yet, are we told, that posts gave rise to weekly news-papers, *which are likewise a French invention*. The inventor was Theophrast Renaudot, a physician, who, laying his scheme before

(*d*) At the end of the *Mercurie* No. 24, there are advertisements of books, like those of the present times:—

“ 1st. An Admonition to the People of England, wherein
“ are answered the slanderous Untruths, reproachfully uttered by Martin Mar-Prelate, and others of his *broode*,
“ against the Bishops and Chief of the Clergy.

“ 2dly. The copie of a letter sent to Don Bernardin Mendoza, Ambassador in France, for the King of Spain; declaring the State of England, &c. The second edition.

“ 3dly. An exact Journal of all Passages at the Siege of Bergan-op-Zoom. By an Eye-witness.

“ 4thly. Father Parsons’s Coat well dusted; or short and pithy Animadversions on that infamous Fardle of Abuse and Falsities, entitled, *Leicester’s Common Wealth*.

“ 5thly. *Elizabetha Triumphans*, an Heroic Poem, by James Aske; with a Declaration how her Excellencie was entertained at the Royal Course at Tilbury, and of the Overthrow of the Spanish Fleet.

“ All imprinted and to be sold by John Field and Christopher Barker.”

Cardinal

Cardinal Richlieu, obtained from him a patent for *The Paris Gazette*, which was first published, in April 1631. Thus, would confident ignorance transfer this invention, which is so usefully advantageous to the governors, and the governed, from the English Burleigh to the French Richlieu. (e) The dates demonstrate, that the pleasures and the benefits of a news-paper were enjoyed in England, more than forty years, before the establishment of the *Paris Gazette*, by Renaudot, in France. And the *English Mercurie* will remain an incontestible proof of the existence of a printed news-paper in England, at an epoch, when no other nation can boast a vehicle of news of a similar kind.

The *English Mercurie* no longer proclaimed his news, when Elizabeth, speaking of the *Armada*, had said, *Flavit Deus et dissipantur*. A news-paper had now gratified the curiosity of the people; and the curiosity of the people would be no longer satisfied without a news-paper. Burton complains, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, which was first published, in 1614, "that if any
" read now-a-days it is a play-book, or a
" pamphlet of *newes*." (f) The news-papers were
at

(e) Totze's *Present State of Europe*, vol. 1. p. 148; who quotes *Anecdotes Littéraires*, vol. 2. p. 275.

(f) *Anat. of Melanch.* p. 122. The text refers to occasional publications of foreign intelligence. I have in my collection

at first *occasional*; and afterwards *weekly*. Nathaniel Butter, at the *Pyde-Bull*, St. Austin's gate, established a weekly paper, in August 1622, entitled, *The certain Newes of this present Week.* (g)

How

collection of early news-papers: *Newes from Spain*: imprinted at London, for Nathaniel Butter, 1611. This is a small 4to, of 12 pages. I have also:—*Newes out of Germany*, 1612.—*Good Newes from Florence*, 1614.—*Newes from Mamora*, 1614.—*Newes from Guli:k and Cleve*, 1615.—*Newes from Italy*, 1618.—*Vox Populi: or Newes from Spain*, 1620.—These are all small quartos of ten, or a dozen, pages.

(g) This is a small quarto of eighteen pages, with the following advertisement at the end of it: “ If any gentleman, or other accustomed to buy the *weekly* relations of
“ newes, be desirous to continue the same, let them know
“ that the writer, or transcriber rather of *this newes*, hath
“ published two former *newes*, the one dated the second, the
“ other the thirteenth of August, all which do carry a like
“ title, with the arms of the King of Bohemia, on the other
“ side of the title page, and have dependence one upon another: which manner of writing and printing, he doth
“ purpose to continue weekly, by God's assistance, from the
“ best and most certain intelligence. Farewell, this *twenty-three*
“ of August, 1622.”—All my specimens shew, that the original orthography was *newes*, and in the singular. Johnson has, however, decided, that the word *news* is a substantive without a singular, unless it be considered as singular. The word *new*, according to Wachter, is of very ancient use, and is common to many nations. The Britons, and the Anglo-Saxons, had the word, though not the thing. It was first printed by Caxton, in the modern sense. In the *Siege of Rhodes*, which was translated by Johan Kay, the poet laureate,

How long Butter, who was a great publisher of *newes*, continued his hebdomadal intelligences, I am unable to tell. He laid little before his readers, which could enlarge knowledge, or excite risibility; though his battles may have *surprized* and *elevated*, and his sieges may have alternately agitated the hopes and fears of his countrymen.

Whatever may have been his success, he certainly had competitors, and imitators. In February 1625-6, was first published a fresh paper of *Weekly Newes*. The foreign intelligence of May the 23d, was conveyed in Number 13. This too was a small quarto of fourteen pages. And it was *printed*, at London, for *Mercurius Britannicus*, in 1626. This proves sufficiently, that the well-known title of *Mercurius Britannicus* had

laureate, and printed by Caxton, about the year 1490, there is the following passage:—" I have thought more better labour, if I should put to the understanding of your people the delectable *newesse* and *tithynges* of the glorious victorye of the Rhodyans agaynst the Turkes." [Herbert, vol. 1. p. 101.]—In the *Assembly of Foulis*, which was printed by Copland, in 1530, there is the following exclamation:

" Newes! Newes! Newes! have ye ony Newes?"

In the translation of the *Utopia* by Raphe Robinson, Citizein and Goldsmythe, which was imprinted by Abraham Wele, in 1551, we are told, " As for monsters, because they be no *newes*, of them we were nothyng inqyfitive."—Such is the rise, and such the progress of the word *news*, which even, in 1551, was still printed *newes*!"

a more

a more early origin, than has generally been supposed. Similar papers were continued, though they assumed different names. In the preface to the *Swedish Intelligencer*, which was published in 1632, “now the third time revised, corrected, and augmented,” we are assured, that, “very good use have also been made of the *Weekly Currantoes*, which, if a man of judgment read, he shall find very true and very punctual: Whosoever will be cunning in the places and persons of Germany, and would understand her wars, let him not despise *Currantoes*.” (b)

Butter, the active news-monger of the times, was influenced by his interest to tell—

“News, old news, and such news as you never heard of.”

He was thus induced to convert his *Weekly News* into half-yearly news. And he published the *German Intelligencer*, in 1630; and the *Swedish Intelligencer*, in 1631. He had for his compiler, William Watts, of Caius college, of whom it may be said, that he was educated for other labours; and of whom Vossius speaks as *doctissimus et clarissimus Watsius, qui optime de Historia meruit*. He was born near Lynn in Norfolk of I

(b) In the famous collection of pamphlets, which was compiled by Mr. Charles Tooker, there were *news-papers* from 1621 to 1640; there was a paper entitled *The Weekly Account*, from 1634 to 1655.—These facts evince, what has been hitherto little understood, that we had regular newspapers, in England, long before the civil wars began.

know

know not what parentage. After being transplanted from the banks of the Cam to the groves of Oxford, he travelled into several countries, says Anthony Wood, and became master of divers languages. (*i*) He was, on his return, after the accession of Charles I. made one of the king's chaplains, and was preferred, successively, to livings, and dignities, in the church; and adhering manfully to the king's cause, he was sequestered, plundered, and left without a shelter for his wife and children. He was carried by his courage, and resentment, into the field, with Prince Rupert, during the hardiest of his exploits; and died, in 1649, on board his fleet, in the harbour of Kinsale. He had an especial hand, says Wood, in Sir Henry Spelman's glossary; he edited Matthew Paris; and, exclusive of other treatises, he published, before the civil wars of England began, several numbers of *news books*, (*k*) in the English tongue (more than forty), containing the occurrences, done in the wars between

(*i*) In the books of the privy-council, 22d December 1620, there is a pass for William Watts, who was going, as chaplain, with Sir Albert Moreton, then appointed envoy to the united princes of Germany; but *this pass was not to allow him to go to Rome.*

(*k*) The indefatigable Butter published, in 1636, No. 1. of *The principal Passages* of Germany, Italy, France, and other places; all faithfully taken out of good originals, by an *English Mercury*. But I doubt whether William Watts were this *English Mercury*.

the King of Sweden, and the Germans. (1) William Watts may, therefore, be deemed the *Gallo-Belgicus* of England.

We are now come, by a regular progress, to that memorable epoch, in English history,

“ When civil dudgeon first grew high.”

Each party, whether political, or religious, now hoped to gain their object, by spreading their pretensions. From this source, the nation was soon over-run with tracts of every size, and of various denominations : (m) hence, the *Diurnal*, which continued its hebdomadal round, notwithstanding the ridicule of Cleveland, from 1640 to 1660 : and hence too the different *Mercuries*, which were sent abroad, to inflame by their vehemence, or to conciliate by their wit; to convince by their argument, or to delude by their sophistry. Many of them were written with extraordinary talents, and published with uncommon courage. The great

(1) Wood's *Fasti*, vol. 1. p. 210-11.

(m) Of those tracts, his present Majesty was graciously pleased to give a very fine collection to the British Museum, for the use of the public. From the curious specimens, which it contains, I am enabled to state, that previous to the sad epoch of the murder of Charles I. there had been published more than a hundred news-papers with different titles : and from that period to the Restoration, there were upwards of eighty other news-papers ; all which were written with various purposes of good, or of mischief. See a *Chronological List of those News-papers* in the APPENDIX, No. 6.

writer

writer of *Mercuries* was Marchmont Needham, who was born in 1620, and was educated at Oxford; who assumed all the colours of the chameleon, during those contentious times: and being discharged from writing public intelligence by the council of state, in March 1660, he was allowed to live at the Restoration, till at length, says Anthony Wood, *this most seditious, mutable, and railing author*, died suddenly, in Devereux Court, in November 1678. (n)

When hostilities commenced, every event, during a most eventful period, had its own historian, who communicated *News from Hull, Truths from York, Warranted Tidings from Ireland, and Special Passages from several Places*. These were all occasional papers. Impatient, however, as a distracted people were for information, the news were never distributed daily. The various news-papers were published weekly at first; but, in the progress of events, and in the ardour of curiosity, they were distributed twice, or thrice, in every week. Such were the "French Intelligencer," the "Dutch Spye," the "Irish Mercury," and the "Scots Dove;" the "Parliament Kite," and the "Secret Owl." *Mercurius Acheronticus* brought them hebdomadal *News from Hell*, *Mercurius Democritus* communicated wonderful news from the World in the Moon, the *Laughing Mercury* gave perfect news from the Antipodes, and *Mercurius Mastix* faith-

(n) See *Ath, Ox.* vol. 2. p. 626-31.

fully lashed all Scouts, Mercuries, Posts, Spies, and other Intelligencers.

Amid this clamour of contradiction, this activity of ridicule, this tumult of laughter, Scotland was not neglected. As early as 1642, there were published at London, *The Scots Scout's Discoveries*. On the 30th of September 1643, appeared *The Scots Intelligencer, or the Weekly News from Scotland and the Court*. On the same day, flew abroad *The Scots Dove*;

“ Our Dove tells newses from the King's,
“ And of harmonious letters sings.”

In 1644, arrived weekly, *Intelligence from the South Borders of Scotland*. *Mercurius Scoticus* appeared in 1651. And, in the subsequent year, was given out *The Theme, or Scoto-Presbyter*, which, with admirable ridicule, inquires, “ Whether it be not as little dishonourable for the
“ Scots to be conquered by the English, in 1652,
“ as to have been these twelve years past
“ slaves to the covenant.” All these papers were assuredly published at London, either to gratify private interest, or to promote public measures, though some of them are mistakingly supposed to have been printed at Edinburgh. (o)

It

(o) See Arnot's History of Edinburgh, which gives an account of the establishment of news-papers in Scotland, that is very superficial, and inaccurate. See Spalding's History of the Troubles in Scotland, vol. 1. p. 336. “ Now,
“ [Decem-

It is a remarkable fact, which history was either too idle to ascertain, or too much ashamed to relate, that the arms of Cromwell communicated to Scotland, with other benefits, the first news-paper, which had ever illuminated the gloom, or dispelled the fanaticism, of the North. Each army carried its own printer with it; expecting either to convince by its reasoning, or to delude by its falsehood. King Charles carried Robert Barker with him to Newcastle, in 1639. And General Cromwell conveyed Christopher Higgins to Leith, in 1652. When Cromwell had here established a citadel, Higgins reprinted, in November 1652, what had been already published at London, *a Diurnal of some Passages and Affairs*, for the information of the English soldiers. *Mercurius Politicus* was first reprinted, at Leith, on the 26th of October 1653. The reprinting of it was transferred to Edinburgh, in November 1654; where it continued to be published, till the 11th of April 1660; and was then reprinted, under the name of *Mercurius Publicus*.

The time was, however, at hand, when Scotland was to enjoy the luxury of a news-paper, which was of Scottish manufacture. On the 31st of December, 1660, appeared, at Edinburgh,

“ [December 1642] printed papers daily came from London, “ called *Diurnal Occurrences*, declaring what is done in Parliament.” Spalding then lived at ABERDEEN.

MERCURIUS CALEDONIUS: *Comprising the Affairs in Agitation, in Scotland, with a Survey of foreign Intelligence.* (p) It was a son of the Bishop of Orkney, Thomas Sydserfe, who now thought he had the wit to amuse, the knowledge to instruct, and the address to captivate, the lovers of news, in Scotland. But, he was only able, with all his powers, to extend his publication to ten numbers, which were very loyal, very illiterate, and very affected.

Even after the Restoration, the news-papers, which were published, by authority, at London, continued to be reprinted at Edinburgh, though not by the hand of Higgins. *The Mercurius Publicus* was here republished, till it was superseded by *The Kingdom's Intelligencer*, which still retailed the news of London to the people of Scotland, at the time, that Ruddiman was born.

In the annals of our literature, and our freedom, it is a memorable fact, that there was not a newspaper printed in Scotland, at the æra of the Revolution. The few had doubtless instructed themselves, during several years, from the *London Gazette*. And the many had been too busy,

(p) *The Mercurius Caledonius*, No. 1. was dated from Monday the 31st of December 1660 to Tuesday the 8th of January, 1661. It was a small 4to. of eight pages, which was printed by a *Society of Stationers*, at Edinburgh, and was published once a week.—The last paper, No. 10, was dated from March 22d, to March 28, 1661.

during

during the late times, with the affairs of the other world, to be very anxious about the events of this. Yet, were the estates of Scotland, who assembled at Edinburgh, on the 14th of March, 1689, and the mobs, which outraged, on that occasion, both law and religion, sufficiently inflamed, without the agency of a news-paper (q).

Whatever freedom, either of thought, or of printing, may have been established, in Scotland, by the Revolution, ten years elapsed, before it was deemed safe by the public, or advantageous by an individual, to print a news-paper. THE EDINBURGH GAZETTE was at length published, by authority, in February 1699, by James Watson, who is still remembered for his *History of the Art of Printing*. (r) Having published only forty-

(q) In order to supply that deficiency, at Edinburgh, there was published, at London, in a folio half sheet, *An Account of the Proceedings of the Meeting of the Estates of Scotland, with Licence, by Richard Chiswell, at the Rose and Crown, in St. Paul's Church Yard*. This paper was licensed on the 25th of March 1689, and was continued by Richard Baldwin, till October 1690. Together with the proceedings of the convention, this paper contained news and advertisements; and when the Revolution had been accomplished, in Scotland, it seems to have ceased, in England. My copy, which had belonged to the Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, ends with No. 147, and is dated from Tuesday October 14th to Saturday October 18th, 1690.

(r) The first number of the *Edinburgh Gazette* was dated from Tuesday, February 28th, to Thursday, March 2d, 1699; and was of course published every Tuesday and Thursday, in a whole sheet folio, with two columns in each page.

one numbers, he transferred, in July 1699, while Ruddiman was still the schoolmaster of Lawrence Kirk, the *Edinburgh Gazette* to John Reid, on whose death, it became the property of John Reid, his son, who continued to print the *Edinburgh Gazette*, even after the Union. Watson was, for several years, the great news-monger of Scotland, as Butter had been of England, during the prior age. In February 1705, he established the *Edinburgh Courant*, which, after he had printed fifty-five numbers, he relinquished to the heirs and successors of Andrew Anderson, the printer to the Queen, to the city, and to the college. (s) Yet, Watson still hoped for profit, or honour, from printing a news-paper. And, in September 1705, he published the *Scots Courant*, which he continued to print, beyond the year 1718. (t) At the epoch of the Union, Scotland had thus successively acquired three news-papers, which were all published at Edinburgh; but neither

(s) The first number of the *Edinburgh Courant* was dated from Wednesday the 14th to Monday the 19th of February 1705; and was published twice a week, on the Mondays and Wednesdays. On the 1st of February 1710, the town-council authorised Mr. Daniel De-Foe to print this paper, in the place of the deceased Adam Bog, and prohibited any other person to print news under the name of the *Edinburgh Courant*. Yet, was this paper certainly printed by John Reid, junior, in 1709, and in 1710, after the 1st of February.

(t) The *Scots Courant* was also published twice a week, on the Mondays and Wednesdays, in a folio half sheet, and sold at the Exchange Coffee-house.

promoted that measure by their facts, nor retarded it by their declamations.

To the *Gazette*, the *Edinburgh Courant*, and the *Scots Courant*, were added, in October 1708, the *Edinburgh Flying Post*; in August 1709, the *Scots Postman*, which was printed by John Moncur for David Fearne; and in March 1710, the *North Tatler*, which was printed by John Reid for Samuel Colvil. (u)

The year 1715, when Ruddiman began to print, is also the epoch, when the commercial city of Glasgow first enjoyed the advantages of a news-paper. (x) *The Glasgow Courant* alone was then equal to her wants. Her traffic, her opulence, and her knowledge, give circulation,

(u) The *Flying Post* was printed by John Reids, elder and younger, three times a week, in a folio half-sheet.—The *Scots Postman* was established by permission from the town-council on the 17th of August 1709; and continued to be published on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays.—The *Tatler*, No. 1, was dated from the 27th of March to the 1st of April 1710, and was published every Monday and Friday.

(x) The *Glasgow Courant*, containing the occurrences both at home and abroad, No. 1. was dated from Friday, November 11th, to Monday, November 14th, 1715. Glasgow, printed for R. T. and sold at the printing-house, in the college, and at the post-office. It was a small 4to printed on bad paper, in one column, three times a week, for the benefit of the country, price three halfpence. The title was changed in No. 3, to *The West Country Intelligence*; containing the news both at home and abroad. I saw a collection of these news-papers, in the College Library, at Glasgow.

at

at present, to a *Journal*, a *Mercury*, an *Advertiser*, and a *Courier*.

The printing of a news-paper at Glasgow did not prevent the establishment of other newspapers at Edinburgh. In March 1714, Robert Brown began to print the *Edinburgh Gazette*, or *Scots Postman*, on Tuesday and Thursday, in every week. On the 24th of December 1718, the town-council gave an exclusive privilege to James M'Ewen, stationer-burgess, to publish three times a week, *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*; "the said James being obliged, before publication, to give ane coppie of his print to the "magistrates." (y) This paper continues to be published by David Ramsay, though I am unable to tell, whether he comply with the original condition, of giving *ane coppie of his print to the present magistrates*.

We have, in this manner, been led forward, while we left Ruddiman engaged in his philological labours, to the epoch, in his life, of the establishment of the CALEDONIAN MERCURY, which he was first to print, and afterwards to own. The original number of this news-paper was published, at Edinburgh, on Thursday, April the 28th, in the year 1720. It was printed by William Adams, Junior, for William Rolland, a lawyer, who was the earliest proprietor, with such

(y) See the council registers of that date.

a re-

a reception as hath insured its continuance to the present times. (z)

Of the *Caledonian Mercury*, Adams printed five hundred and eighty-nine numbers. On the 17th of January 1724, Ruddiman began to print the subsequent number, at his printing-house, in Morocco's Close, in the Lawn Market. The decease of Rolland, in March 1729, transferred to Ruddiman the property of the *Caledonian Mercury*; which, from number thirteen hundred and ninety-six, was printed for, and by, Thomas, and Walter, Ruddiman, and sold at the shop of Alexander Symmers, bookseller, in the Parliament Square. In this manner was the property in the *Caledonian Mercury* transferred, from the

(z) The *Caledonian Mercury* was at first printed three times a week, on Monday, Tuesday, and Thursday, in a small 4to of four pages, with two columns in each page, and 50 lines in each column; so, the whole paper contained only 400 lines. It now contains, in its folio form, no fewer than 2480 lines, or, more than six times what it originally did: And, as each line contained at first one fourth less matter, the paper now comprehends of matter more than eight times of what it did in 1729. On the 12th of November 1739, the *Caledonian Mercury* was printed for Thomas Ruddiman and Co. It was printed anonymously from No. 3892, Monday 23d September, to No. 3916, Monday 18th November, 1745, when the former signature was again assumed. On the 17th of March 1748, this paper was printed as formerly for Thomas and Walter Ruddiman. Such were the changes of the *Caledonian Mercury*, when it was far less entertaining and profitable than it has since become. It was originally embellished with the arms of Scotland.

founder

founder of it, to the family of Ruddiman. In his family, it continued, though under various modifications, and during troublesome times, from March 1729, to May 1772, when it was sold by the trustees of Ruddiman's grand-children, with the printing-house, and printing-materials, to Mr. John Robertson, a printer of sufficient learning, and of opulent circumstances. (a)

While Ruddiman thus undertook the additional cares of a news-paper, and continued his

(a) In consequence of that sale, the trustees published in the Caledonian Mercury, No. 7884, on the 16th of May 1772, the following advertisement:—"The printing copartnery betwixt Thomas and Walter Ruddiman, which since their death has hitherto been continued in behalf of their representatives, being now dissolved; and the property of the printing-house, types, and all other materials, sold to John Robertson, printer here, who has also purchased from the copartnery the right of publishing the Caledonian Mercury: We, the trustees for the grand-children of Thomas Ruddiman, who benefited the learned world so much by his grammatical knowledge, and many useful publications, think ourselves obliged not only to return grateful thanks for the generous countenance hitherto afforded to this house and to his posterity; but also, as Mr. Robertson has dealt by us with openness and candour in the course of this transaction, and is to continue the business in the same house, and the publication of the CALEDONIAN MERCURY in the same way, we presume to recommend him in the most earnest manner to all the friends and well-wishers of the memory of Thomas, and Walter, Ruddiman.

" John Mackenzie, John Hutton,
" George Stuart, William Henry."

usual studies, he again wished for matrimonial comforts, at the ripe age of fifty-five. It was on the 29th day of September 1729, that he married, for his third wife, Anne Smith, the daughter of Thomas Smith, a merchant, in Edinburgh, who, in London, had been called a woollen-draper; and who, marrying the heiress of a brew-house, carried on the profitable business of a brewer till his death. What fortune she brought Ruddiman I am unable to tell. He certainly engaged, by his marriage contract, to secure to her an annuity, which should be equal to the interest of ten thousand marks, Scots, exclusive of her expectations from Alison Young, her aunt. He found her a faithful manager of his household, and a pleasant companion of his age. She gave him a son, who died in his infancy, and a daughter, Alison, who, having married, at the age of seventeen, James Stuart, a lawyer, in Edinburgh, on the 4th of September 1747, has produced a numerous progeny, to perpetuate his blood.

In addition to the comforts of a wife, Ruddiman ere long partook of the gifts of fortune, if not of the rewards of merit. On the 6th of January 1730, he obtained a step in his office, though he gained no accession to his income. When Mr. John Spottiswood died, in February 1728, after he had been five-and-twenty years the principal keeper of the Advocates Library, Ruddiman remained, for almost

two years, without a superior. But, at the anniversary meeting of *the Faculty*, on the 6th of January 1730, Mr. Thomas Ruddiman was appointed library-keeper, though without any addition to his salary. (*b*) Whether he now exe-

(*b*) At a meeting of the Faculty of Advocates, on the 6th of January 1730, Mr. Hugh Dalrymple, one of the curators of the library, represented, that there having been no principal keeper thereof appointed, since the death of Mr. John Spottiswoode, and it being necessary that one should bear the name of Library Keeper for demanding the books from the keeper of the warehouse of Stationers Hall, under the 8th of Queen Anne, ch. 19; and moved that, for obtaining the said end, and for preventing any new burden on the Faculty's stock, by creating one of the Faculty the principal keeper with a salary, Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, the present under-keeper, should be named the Library Keeper, without any addition to his salary on that account. After some reasoning, a few of the members were of opinion, that it was for the honour of the Faculty and the reputation of their library, after the example of similar institutions, in other countries, the principal keeper should be some person of consideration in their own society; while other members, on the other hand, insisted, that the office was in a great measure supplied by the five curators of the library, who, being all members, had the principal charge thereof: The Faculty, after maturely considering the whole matter, and several arguments adduced on both sides, came to the following resolution;—"That they would not in future create
" one of their own body the honorary keeper of the li-
" brary, with a salary annexed to his office;" and they accordingly appointed and empowered Mr. Thomas Ruddiman to call for such books from Stationers Hall, as their library had a right to by the above-mentioned act of parliament, and to give receipts for the same.

cuted

cuted the whole trust, which became more laborious, both from extending the plan of an extensive collection, and from the increase of juridical business, cannot now be ascertained. He was ere long provided with an assistant, who being his countryman, that had a little of his learning, and some of his principles, was probably recommended by himself. It was Walter Goodal, who was appointed the under-keeper of the Advocates Library, on the 14th of June 1735; and who distinguished himself by the hardy enterprize of proving, in opposition to prejudice, that the letters, which had been attributed to Mary, the Queen of Scots, were forgeries.

I have taken some pains to rescue Goodal from the oblivion, into which the literati of Edinburgh have allowed him to fall. Though his talents did not place him in the foremost rank, the success, with which he executed that enterprize, entitles him to biographical recollection. The Goodals of the parish of Ordiphul, in that part of the ancient division of Banfshire, which is called the BOYNE, were a numerous race, who emerged but little from the lower orders. Walter Goodal was the eldest son of John Goodal, a farmer, at Acres of Culfin, by Margaret Taylor, the sister of James Taylor, who was parochial schoolmaster, in Ordiphul. In this parish, Walter was born, about the year 1706. He was, no doubt, instructed in

grammar by his uncle. And, in December 1723, he entered himself a student in the King's college, Aberdeen; where he did not continue long enough to obtain, what Ruddiman valued so much, the degree of Master of Arts. (c) I am unable to trace him through his successive employments, from his leaving the King's college till his appearance in the Advocates Library, about the year 1730, though he had not a formal appointment in it, till the 14th of June 1735. Goodal now commenced the fellow-labourer of Ruddiman, in compiling "A Catalogue of the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh." This accurate compilation was begun, in 1735, and by their joint diligence was, with the exception of the last page, printed, in 1742. (d)

(c) He entered his name on the books of the college, on the 1st of December 1723, Walter Goodal, *Boynensis*; and he studied under professor Alexander Burnet. For this information I am obliged to professor Thomas Gordon of that college.

(d) It was printed, in folio, by Thomas, Walter, and Thomas, Ruddiman, at Edinburgh. This most useful catalogue was formed on the plan of the *Bibliotheca Cardinalis Imperialis*. A second volume, containing the books, that had been collected, since 1742, was compiled on the same plan, and nearly to as great an extent, by Alexander Brown, the present librarian, and published in January 1776. A large Appendix, containing the additions to the library, since 1776, was printed in 1787.

It

It was about this time, that Goodal formed his design of writing *The Life of Mary*, "the goddess of his idolatry." But, he appears to have been either teased by his enemies, or advised by his friends, to convert his materials into his well-known *Examination of the Letters, said to be written by Mary, Queen of Scots, to James Earl of Bothwell.* (e) This deviation, from his original purpose, is not to be much regretted, considering into whose hands the life of Mary was to fall. With this *Examination* Ruddiman was certainly acquainted, (f) and was easily induced to contribute his suggestions.

For the discovery of truth, and the establishment of innocence, Goodal did much, by his elaborate examination, though he left much for others to do. He had done more, had he had less prejudice, and greater coolness. He certainly had diligence of research, sagacity of investigation, and keenness of remark: but his zeal sometimes carried him out of his course, his prejudice often blunted his acuteness, and his desire of recrimination never failed to enfeeble the strength of his criticism. The *Defence of the*

(e) It was printed, in 2 vols. 8vo. at Edinburgh, by Thomas, and Walter, Ruddimans, 1754.

(f) Answer to Logan, p. 69; whereby it appears, that Goodal was even, in 1747, at work on his *Vindication*, which, being *under the management of a very fit hand*, was expected ere long to see the light.

Bishop of Ross, which he wrote at the time, when facts were known, and danger was near, has never been satisfactorily answered. But, it was Goodal, who first attempted, with uncommon success, to demonstrate by *intrinsick and extrinsick evidence*, that the letters, which had been attributed to Mary, were forgeries. He convinced all those, who were disposed to make every presumption in favour of innocence. He made little impression upon those, who, affecting subtilty, opposed philosophical indifference to positive proofs. The scholars, who had placed themselves on the heights of literature, far from yielding assent to his evidence, endeavoured to answer his examination, in an evil hour for their own fame: but,

“ Quod ratio nequit, sæpe sanavit mora.”

Mean time, Goodal employed himself in other labours. He published, in 1754, Sir John Scot's *Staggering State of Scots Statesmen*, a work, that required the emendatory notes, which Goodal supplied, with more diligence than precision. He contributed also, in 1754, to Sir James Balfour's *Præcticks*, what is deemed by competent judges a learned preface, together with a life of the author. When Keith published, in 1755, his *New Catalogue of Scots Bishops*, he gratefully acknowledged the assistance of Goodal, particularly with regard to *the account of the Culdees*, which at last is extremely erroneous. He edited *Ferdun's Scotichronicon*, which, the most prejudiced have

have allowed, to be a laudable work. He chiefly made use of the manuscript of Fordun, which is in the library of the university of Edinburgh, (g) and which, Ruddiman says, is the best. Goodal's *introduction* to *Fordun* shews, that his knowledge of the history of Scotland was neither profound, nor accurate; that his investigation was sometimes obstructed by prejudice, and his candour often overpowered by zeal. In the midst of these employments, he married, I know not what woman, who brought him a son, that made verses, and thought himself equal as a poet to Dryden. During his latter days, poor Goodal paid his adoration seldomer to Apollo than to

(g) I observed the following entry in the records of the city of Edinburgh:—"22d. April 1745, The MS. of *Joannis Forduni Scotichronicon* was put into the advocates library, for being published. A bond for return thereof was produced."—Goodal's *Fordun* was a most injudicious publication. The first volume was published in folio, by Robert Fleming, at Edinburgh, in 1747, without a preface, or the name of the editor. There is a prefatory advertisement, indeed, which apologizes for the delay of the work, owing to *the confusions of the late rebellion*; and which promises the second volume with all convenient speed. The second volume at length appeared, in 1759, with an *introduction* by Goodal, and a dissertation on the marriage of Robert 3d, with Elizabeth Mure, by Gordon of Buthlaw, which had been published, in a folio size, 1749. Goodal's *Fordun* sells for the price of waste paper. The *introduction* was ten years afterwards translated into English, and published at London, 1769, in 8vo, with little more success.

Bacchus; who generally overcame his votary, as often as he asked his aid. Goodal died, on the 28th of July 1766, in bad circumstances, after all his labours. In Ruddiman he had ever found a friend, (*b*) who relieved his necessities, yet despised his grossness.

Amidst all his avocations, Ruddiman never desisted from his philological studies. He was, by this studiousness, enabled to publish, in 1731, *Grammaticæ Latinæ Institutiones*, pars secunda. This elaborate book was printed in *ædibus auctoris*, by his own workmen. In part the first, he had already instructed the youth of Scotland, in the principles of *etymology*. In the present work, he treats of *syntax*, or construction. As these *Institutiones* were the labour of years, so has he discussed his difficult subject, in an admirable display of method, without tediousness, of precision, without subtlety, and of conciseness, without obscurity. He every where speaks with respect of the performances of others, and always with modesty of his own. Though he had now published *pars secunda*, with regard to *syntax*, he did not here relinquish a subject, which has doubts to be explained, and difficulties to be removed. And, with his usual diligence, he prepared a *pars*

(*b*) In Ruddiman's deed of settlement, dated the 22d of March 1756, there is mention of a bond for 90*l.* sterling from Walter Goodal, as an outstanding debt.

tertia, being a *Profodia*, which is said by judges to be more copious, and correct, than any treatise of the kind, that has been yet given to the world. When Ruddiman was solicited to print his *Profody*, thus copious and correct, he said dryly, *that the age has so little taste, the sale would not pay the expence.* The two parts of his Grammatical Institutes, he afterwards abridged, and published, for the accommodation of youth. And, to this abridgment, which has been vulgarly called his *Shorter Grammar*, he subjoined an abstract of his *Profodia*. (i)

Ruddiman was at length so superior as a Latin grammarian, that his fame incited envy, and his philology produced imitation. Such was the origin of *Grammaticæ Latinæ Compendium*, which was published at Edinburgh, in 1732, by Robert Trotter, the schoolmaster of Dumfries. (k) Trot-

(i) For this work he obtained, on the 5th of May 1756, the royal privilege for the exclusive printing, during fourteen years, under the title of "*Grammaticæ Latinæ Institutiones, facili, et ad Puerorum captum accommodatæ, Methodo perscriptæ.*" Of this treatise, the 8th edition was printed at Edinburgh, by Walter Ruddiman, John Richardson, and company, 1762, 8vo.

(k) Of this *Compendium*, there appears to have been an impression, in 1733: but, it was merely the old edition with a new title page.

ter's affectation of brevity brought to recollection the remark of Horace:—

“ Brevis esse laboro,
Obscurus fio.”

The conceitedness, the envy, and the errors, of Trotter, were soon exposed with abundant learning, and chastised with sufficient sharpness, by Mr. John Love, who published his *Animadversions*, in 1733. (1) The opening paragraph will give the reader a good specimen of the grammar of Trotter, and of the animadversions of Love:—“ page 1, line 3, *Grammaticæ quæ est ars rectè loquendi scribendique, partes sunt quatuor.* Mr. Trotter here, for the sake of an affected brevity, has jumbled together the definition, and the division, of grammar, which must needs perplex the young scholar, at his entry, to this performance.”—A new title page seems to have been the only reply of Trotter, who felt the wound, without being able to return the stroke.

(1) The *Animadversions on the Latin Grammar lately published by Mr. Robert Trotter, schoolmaster at Dumfries*, were printed at Edinburgh, in 1733, without the printer's name: the work, however, was evidently printed in the house of Ruddiman, who printed with it a *Dissertation upon the Way of teaching the Latin Language*. But, as he was highly praised, his modesty would not allow him to appear even as the printer.

Mr.

Mr. John Love, who was now the vindicator of Ruddiman, became ere long his friend, but his adversary afterwards. He was born, in July 1695, at Dunbarton, the Dun-briton of the British, the *Arx Britonum* of the Romans, the Dunclidon of Ravennas, the Alcluyd of Bede; and he was the son of John Love, a book-seller, who, like greater dealers, in greater towns, supplied his customers with such books, as their taste required, and, like the father of Johnson, occasionally exhibited his goods at the neighbouring fairs. (m) He sent his son first to the school at Dunbarton, and afterwards to the college of Glasgow. Here, having finished his studies, the son became the usher to his old master, David M'Alpine, and, in 1720, his successor. On the 17th of October 1721, he married Elizabeth, the daughter of Archibald Campbell, a surgeon, and one of the bailies of Glasgow, at *the Union*, for which, being a strenuous advocate, he was greatly injured by the mob, both in his property, and his person. By her Love had thirteen children, who are all dead, except Lieutenant Robert Love of the royal navy, an experienced and hardy seaman, and David Love, the present

(m) The books, which were at that time chiefly read, were *Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress*, *Ambrose's Holy War with Devils*, *Baxter's Call to the Unconverted*. This worthy dealer in books, and in such other articles, as the town and the country demanded, died in 1725, at the age of seventy-five.

Vicar of Fingringhoe, near Colchester, whom I have long admired for his learning, and esteemed for his worth. Like Ruddiman, Love seems to have delighted in marriage, or like him, to have been driven into connubial connections, by his scholastic business, which required female superintendence. And, he married, in 1741, for his second wife, Giles, the youngest daughter of the Rev. James Elphinston, who had died, the minister of Dalkeith, in 1710.

Love had scarcely animadverted on Trotter, when he was carried before the judicatories of the kirk, by Mr. Sydsersf, the minister of Dunbarton, who accused him of *brewing on a Sunday*, and who, after a juridical trial, was obliged to make a public apology, for having maliciously accused calumniated innocence. In October 1735, Love was appointed by the magistrates of Edinburgh, one of the masters of the High School; after a fair trial of his classical knowledge, in competition with Mr. Findlay, the schoolmaster of Musselburgh. He now continued his studies, and extended his usefulness. In 1737, he published, in concert with Robert Hunter, who was then one of the masters of Heriot's hospital, and afterwards rose to be professor of Greek, in the university of Edinburgh, *Buchanani Paraphrasis Psalmorum Davidis Poetica.* (n) This splendid edition was enriched by

(n) This work was printed by Thomas, and Walter, Ruddimans: and the paper, the types, the accuracy, and the taste

by many contributors. The various communications of Ruddiman contributed in no small degree to its intellectual wealth. The literature, and the diligence, of Love, did not pass unnoticed. The Duke of Buccleugh appointed him the Rector of the grammar school of Dalkeith, in October 1739, on the death of Lesly. During the year 1740, he engaged in a controversy, about the comparative merits of Buchanan and Johnstou, (o) with the notorious Lauder, who, even then, was suspected of scholastic forgery. The conquests, which Love had made over Trotter, and Lauder, probably gave him a fondness for controversy. And we shall find, in the sequel, that he entered into an angry contest with Ruddiman about Buchanan's morals; being provoked perhaps, by what he deemed contemptuous mention of his *grammatical war* with Lauder.

While Love's connection with Ruddiman was fresh, our grammarian published, in 1733, a *Dissertation upon the Way of teaching the Latin Tongue*. This is an elaborate treatise, which was chiefly designed as a confutation of the grammatical heterodoxies of John Clarke, the well-known schoolmaster of Hull; who, about that time, had taste of it, were all worthy of Buchanan's genius and poetry.

(o) There was published, at Edinburgh, in September 1740, in 8vo, price 6d. *Buchanan's and Johnstou's Paraphrase of the Psalms compared*.

published

published a Latin grammar, in the English language, wherein he magnified hyperbolically the use of *literal translations*. He had inculcated, dishonestly, what credulity alone can believe, that an adequate knowledge of dead languages is an easy acquirement. And he maintained, immorally, the direct converse of the ancient adage,—“*Omnia vincit labor.*” For these offences against the art of teaching, he was now corrected by Ruddiman with many stripes.

Ruddiman, mean while, proceeded, with a grammarian's method, 1st, to confute the objections, that had been raised against his own grammar, as being too particular; 2dly, to justify the common practice of teaching the Latin language, by a Latin grammar; 3dly, to criticise Clarke's grammar, with the acuteness, and knowledge, of a master; shewing incidentally the superiority of Lilly's grammar to Clarke's, in fulness and perspicuity; and lastly, to explode the use, which his antagonist professed to make of his literal translations, by proving that his method would impose on the credulity of the boys, and disappoint the hopes of the parents. Doctor Watts, however, avowed a different judgment, in his *Improvement of the Mind*. Yet, neither the efforts of Clarke, nor the disapprobation of Watts, changed the established practice of the English schools. Eton and Westminster, Harrow and Winchester, have produced many a fine scholar, since Clarke
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ceased

ceased to flatter with his novelties : this national service, however, has not been accomplished, by foolish flattery, and *English translations*, but by persevering labour, and wholesome discipline.

Ruddiman's reputation was now so high, as a Latinist, that when any translation was to be made of public papers, he was usually employed. In 1726, he translated the Charter of the Royal Bank, from English into Latin, before the seals were affixed to it. By desire of the magistrates of Edinburgh, he translated, in 1733, from Latin into English, "The Town's Charter of Admiralty." (p)

By this easy labour, Ruddiman was never long detained from pursuing his accustomed occupations. In 1734, he printed, and perhaps edited, a posthumous *Treatise* of his old friend, John Spottiswoode, *Concerning the Origin and Progress of Fees* (q) [feuds.] This work was designed as a supplement to the *Introduction of Knowledge to the Stile of Conveyances*, by the same author. The Scots lawyers were under no small obligation to professor Spottiswoode, for thus throwing

(p) The treasurer of Edinburgh was ordered, on the 10th of October 1733, to pay Mr. Ruddiman a guinea, for translating into English the Town's Charter of Admiralty. [The City Records of that date.]

(q) This treatise, on the transmission of Hereditable Rights, was printed at Edinburgh, in 1734, by T. and W. Ruddimans, in 8vo. pp. 276.

into

into method what had before been looked upon as incapable of systematic form. This useful treatise was received with great applause, and had a rapid sale. He was thus induced to compleat the book, which Ruddiman was now employed to print, for illustrating, in a methodical way, the rise and progress of hereditary rights, in Scotland. Our professor, however, writes much more for the instruction of students of the law, than for the information of men of liberal education. He, of course, rather treats practically, than investigates historically, the doctrine of feuds. And he does not in the least touch upon that curious subject, the introduction of the feudal system, and the establishment of the Anglo-Norman jurisprudence, within the ample extent of the Caledonian regions.

The prudence of Ruddiman, which was equal to his industry, was meantime careful to accumulate for his family what he had acquired, during several years, by his labour. He grew rich, without the loss of character, in proportion as he extended his industrious occupations. By the minute account, which he made up of his affairs, on the 1st of October 1735, it appeared, that he was then worth 1882 l. 5 s. 2½ d. sterling. His opulence was at that period in a very increasing progress: for, when he took an account of his riches, on the 20th of May 1736, he found his
wealth

wealth had increased to 1985l. 6s. 3d. (r) sterling. And it is to be recollected that, when he settled his debts and his credits, in 1710, he valued his worldly goods, at no more than 24l. 14s. 9d. sterling. He had in the mean time, maintained his family, educated his children, and sustained the usual losses of complicated business. I have exhibited these statements of considerable riches, at that period, for the benefit of those, who may follow the track of Ruddiman, from dependent penury, through the paths of honest diligence, and careful attention, to independent opulence.

To his other qualities of prudence, of industry, and of attention, Ruddiman added judgment. He did not print splendid editions of books for the public good. He did not publish volumes for the perusal of the few. But, he chiefly employed his press, in supplying Scotland with books, which, from their daily use, had a general sale. And he was, by this motive, induced to furnish country shop-keepers, and parochial schoolmasters, with school-books, at the lowest rate. (s)

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(r) The statements in the text, I found in a folio manuscript, containing inventories, which had been written with his own hand.

(s) From Ruddiman's MS. folio, I am enabled to gratify the reader's desire of knowing the books, with their prices, which

It was on this principle that Ruddiman acted, when he renewed, in May 1736, the contract of the copartnership, which had existed with his brother Walter, since 1729, and James Grant, for publishing the *Caledonian Mercury*. Of this copartnership, Walter Ruddiman was the *cashier*. And, James Grant undertook to collect the foreign, and domestic, intelligence, to attend the press, and to publish the paper, of which fourteen which were in that manner sold by our great grammarian:

	s.	d.	
The Rudiments, at	0	6	per copy.
The Small Grammar, both Parts, at	1	0	per copy.
Part 1st, at	0	6	
Part 2d, at	0	4	
Grammatical Exercises, at	0	6½	each.
Sallust, common Paper	0	4	
Ovid's Metamorphoses (Willymot)	0	6½	
Dialogi Sacri	0	6½	
Corderius (Willymot)	0	3	
C. Nepos	0	5	
Forrest's Vocabulary	0	6	
Virgil, common Paper	0	7	
Virgil, fine Paper	0	10	
A small Vocabulary	0	2	
The large Grammar, with Notes	7	0	
Cæsar's Commentaries in Sheets	1	0	
Horatii Opera, that had been printed by the late James Watson, and purchased by Ruddiman			
An English New Testament			
A Greek New Testament.			

hundred

hundred were sold every week. Thus, according to this arrangement, was the company to continue for ten years, from the 17th of April 1736, the three partners, having each an equal share. (1) And thus, did they continue to publish the *Caledonian Mercury* till the 1st of November 1745, when Grant renounced his part; and sacrificing his prudence to his zeal, joined the insurgents, and finally found his safety in France.

The usual prudence of Ruddiman induced him to engage in a more extraordinary measure, for guarding his family from future want. The teachers of the liberal arts, at Edinburgh, considering that, after their deaths their wives and children often fell into indigence, wisely resolved to employ a certain portion of their incomes, as a certain provision for themselves, and for those, whom it was their duty to protect. With this salutary design, Ruddiman, and the scholastic teachers, entered into a voluntary society, on the 2d of February 1737, by the title of "The company of the professors and teachers of the liberal arts and sciences, or any branch thereof, in the city of Edinburgh, and dependencies thereof." To the fund of this society, the several copartners were to contribute equally, without preventing any individual from giving more than his proportion, yet all were to be equal sharers of the profit, and the loss. From this fund, the part-

(1) MS. contract, dated the 6th of May 1736.

ners, in cases of necessity, and their families, in cases of distress, were to be relieved. And, to insure the faithful management of this fund, various rules were adopted. Ruddiman, who appears to have been the most active promoter of this prudent association, was appointed, by the original copartners, the first cash-keeper. (u) This was probably the earliest society, which prudence had established, in Scotland, for pro-

(u) It may gratify the reader to be informed, who were the original copartners of this literary society, for mutual help: Thomas Ruddiman, "sometime teacher of humanity, "now keeper of the Advocates Library, and printer, in "Edinburgh." John Lees, the rector of the *High School*. Robert Spence, James Gib, John Love, and William Creech, masters of *The High School*. Robert Hunter, teacher of Greek. *William Lauder*, John Monro, James Mundle, and William Rhind, teachers of humanity. Robert Barbar, and John Wilson, teachers of mathematics. Gavin Drummond, and William Stevenson, teachers of arithmetic and book-keeping. David Beatt, and Lauchlan Campbel, James Cumming, and William Grainger, writing-masters. John Coupere, James Freebairn, William Ker, John Murdoch, teachers of French. Laurence Barns, James Deuar, John Johnston, Archibald Keith, Charles Lawrence, Thomas Mabene, John Warden, William Webder, William Wylie, and John Wylie, teachers of English. William Fidler, formerly teacher of humanity, but now one of the clerks of the exchequer. Robert Smith, teacher of the municipal law, and procurator in Edinburgh. Hugh Millar, master of the grammar school; and Richard Hodge, writing-master, in Leith. [See the *Articles of Agreement*, which were printed by Thomas, and Walter, Ruddimans, in 1739, 8vo.]

testing

recting the families of literary men. In 1742, a scheme was proposed, upon more scientific principles, “to provide for the widows and orphans of the ministers of the church of Scotland.” In this scheme, the professors of the universities were comprehended, at their own desire. And this project, being matured by inquiry, and settled by judgment, was, in 1744, established by act of parliament, (x) and has answered, in the varieties of practice, beyond the expectations of theory.

While Ruddiman wisely took care of his own affairs, and thereby sheltered his own family, he was not inattentive to the interests of his literary friends. He readily lent his hand to Wilkins, when he was compiling the great work of the *Concilia*, which was published in 1737: And, for that compilation, he copied the *Canons of the Church of Scotland*, which were drawn up, in the provincial councils, that were held at Perth, during the years 1242, and 1269. (y) Wilkins

(x) 17 Geo. II. ch. 11. and the supplementary act of the 22 Geo. II. ch. 21.

(y) Sir David Dalrymple, the late Lord Hailes, remarks, in his very curious tract, entitled, *Canons of the Church of Scotland*, which was printed in 1769, “That the learned, and industrious, Mr. Thomas Ruddiman transcribed these Canons from the Chartulary of Aberdeen, and communicated them to Dr. Wilkins, who published them in the first volume of the *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae*.” [See page 1.]

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mentions,

mentions, in his preface, this meritorious service, with thankful recollection. Ruddiman gave his assistance, in 1738, to a person, who was much less worthy of his aid. It was William Lauder, a man, whose origin I have been unable to trace, and whose knowledge of languages was derived from the university of Edinburgh. He appears to have entered the world, with only his literature to support him. And, in that city, where ancient restraints on teaching began to be relaxed, he taught the Latin language, in his private school, and in the university classes, with acknowledged approbation.

Lauder had scarcely left the college, when he met with an accident, which disfigured his person ever after. Being one day on *Bruntsfield Links*, near Edinburgh, to see the golfers at their play, the ball unluckily struck him on the knee, which festering from careless inattention, it became necessary to amputate the leg. This misfortune, however, did not much retard his studies, nor in the least prevent his teaching. In 1734, Mr. professor Watt, falling ill of that sickness, of which he died, Lauder taught for him the Latin class, in the college of Edinburgh, and tried, without success, to succeed him, in the professorship. On this disappointment, he solicited, with as little luck, the inferior office of library-keeper in that university. His disappointments did not improve his temper; and his temper contributed to his

his disappointments. In February 1739, he stood candidate, with eight competitors, for the place of one of the masters of the High School, upon the death of Mr. William Creech. But, though the palm of literature was assigned by the judges to Lauder, the patrons of the school preferred one of his opponents.

It was in 1738, that in order to advance his fortune, if not to elevate his fame, Lauder gave out proposals for printing by subscription a *Collection of Sacred Poems*, with the *Assistance of professor Robert Steuart, professor John Ker, and Mr. Thomas Ruddiman.* (z) What help he had from the two professors I pretend not to know. From Ruddiman, he had several notes, and three poems. The first is the Elegy on Pitcairne, which has been already mentioned, as an effusion of gratitude; (a) the second is addressed to Pitcairne, in which, with happiness of thought, and elegance of language, he praises the Latin poetry of Johnston; (b) the third is an encomiastic elegy on William Hog, who wrote the *Poetical Paraphrase on Job*, (c) which was now reprinted by Lauder. These poems of Ruddiman have more

(z) From the printed proposals, which were signed with Lauder's hand.

(a) 2 Vol. p. xxi. of Lauder's Collection.

(b) 2 Vol. p. xxiii.

(c) 1 Vol. p. vii. This poem has only the initials T. R. prefixed to it.

correctness than fancy, and more depth of learning, than felicities of expression. Of his own poetical effusions, Ruddiman has, indeed, spoken with his usual humility: (c) “In my younger years, I could make a shift to compose a copy of *Elegiac* verses: But when I essayed to do any thing in the *Sapphick*, *Alcaick*, or *Choriam-bick*, kind, I found my genius not equal to it; and therefore wisely gave it over.” Ruddiman wrote some lines on Ovid, which Sir David Dalrymple mentions with approbation; but which, after all my inquiries, I have never seen.

The collections of Lauder at length appeared in two volumes, in place of one, and in 1739, instead of 1738; but without any list of subscribers. (d) The general assembly of the Kirk of Scotland recommended, in November 1740, the Paraphrase of Johnstou, to be taught in the lower classes of the schools. Yet, Lauder’s hopes of an annual income, from this splendid publication, were never gratified; for, he had allowed expectation to outrun probability. He had en-

(c) Vindication of Buchanan, p. 169.

(d) This work of Lauder was printed by Thomas and Walter Rudimans, in 1739, with the title, *Poetarum Scotorum Musæ Sacræ*, &c. This book is printed in an elegant manner, and in an octavo size; and it is ornamented with a head of Arthur Johnstou, which was engraved by R. Cooper, from a painting of Jamieson.

gaged too in a controversy, in 1740, about the comparative merits of Buchanan and Johnston, which, like other warfare, left scars to be lamented, even after the wounds had been healed. (e)

He lingered on at Edinburgh, till 1742, when hopes were raised, of being appointed the rector of the same school, at Dundee, to which Ruddiman had been invited, in 1710. He was at length driven, by his disappointments, from Edinburgh to London, in an unlucky hour for his own character, and livelihood. Here, his folly, working on his necessities, induced him to detract from the fame of Milton, by publishing forgeries, which were detected, in 1751, with great diligence, by Doctor Douglas, the present Bishop of Salisbury. (f)

The

(e) On that subject, there was published, in July 1740, "*A Letter to a Gentleman in Edinburgh*," price 6d. In answer to this, appeared, in July 1740, *Calumny Displayed*, by Lauder, part 1st, price 8d; and in August 1741, *Calumny Displayed*, parts 2d and 3d, price 1s. This scholastic contest was called, at Edinburgh, *Bellum Grammaticale*.

(f) Lauder's ignorance of the poetry of his country disabled him from charging Milton with plagiarism, at the expence of less criminality. He might have shown, that old Sir Richard Maitland, who was also blind, wrote a poem, "On the Creation, and PARADYCE Lost," before Milton was born. This poem, which it is curious to recollect, from

The public indignation at length forced Lauder to look for refuge, and subsistence, in Barbadoes, where he died in poverty, and neglect, about the year 1771.—Lauder was a person about five feet seven inches high, who had a fallow complexion, large rolling fiery eyes, a stentorian voice, and a sanguine temper. (g)

Meantime Ruddiman, whose connection ceased with Lauder, when Lauder ceased to be honest, (b) contributed greater aid to more worthy

the coincidence of the *title*, was first published, in 1724, by Ramsay, in his *Evergreen*. The worthy Sir Richard died, in 1586, at the age of *ninety*. Here is the concluding stanza of his *Paradyce Lost*:

“ Behald the state that man was in,
 “ And als how it he tynt throw sin,
 “ And lost the same for ay;
 “ Yet, God his promise dois perform,
 “ Sent his Son of the Virgin born,
 “ Our ransome deir to pay.
 “ To that great God let us give glore,
 “ To us has been sae gude,
 “ Quha by his grace did us restore,
 “ Quhereof we were denude.”

(g) See a pamphlet, which was published, at London, for H. Carpenter, in Fleet Street, about the year 1754, entitled, “ *Furius: or a Modest Attempt towards a History of the Life and surprising Exploits of the famous W. L. Critic and Thief-catcher.*”

(b) In a manuscript note on *Furius*, Ruddiman says, “ I was so sensible of the weakness and folly of that man; [Lauder] that I shunned his company, as far as decently I
 “ could.”

worthy characters. It was, in 1737, when he was upon a visit at London, that Ruddiman engaged to edit the *Diplomata et Numismata Scotiæ*, which James Anderson had undertaken, in 1707, by the command of the parliament of Scotland.

James Anderson was the son of the Reverend Patrick Anderson, who was so zealous *for modes of faith*, that he suffered ejection from his church, at the epoch of the Restoration, and kept a conventicle, at Edinburgh, during the reign of Charles II. He was for this delinquency imprisoned in the Bass. His son James was meantime born, on the 5th of August 1662. He finished his scholastic education at the university of Edinburgh, wherein he obtained the Master of Arts degree, on the 27th of May 1680. (i) He now chose the law for his profession. And, having served an apprenticeship with Sir Hugh

“ could.” Thus Ruddiman, when on the verge of eighty, was diligent to vindicate himself from the imputations of the unfair scribbler of *Furius*, who tried, by propagating misrepresentations, to involve Ruddiman in the disgrace of Lauder.

(i) It appears from the registers of the university of Edinburgh, that James Anderson was a student under Mr. William Paterson, the professor of philosophy, in 1677, and took his degree, in the class of Mr. James Wishart, on the 27th of May 1680. For the search, by which these dates were discovered, I owe a kindness to Mr. professor Dalzel, the intelligent and obliging keeper of the registers.

Paterfon of Bannockburn, a writer to the signet of great eminence, he was admitted a member of Sir Hugh's Society, on the 6th of June 1691. As he was by nature active, we may easily suppose, that he worked diligently, as a writer, though without acquiring perhaps much wealth, because he soon diverged from his proper avocations to less gainful labour.

Anderson first appeared before the public, in 1705. He, at that epoch, published *An Historical Essay; shewing that the Crown and Kingdom of Scotland is [are] imperial and independent.* (k) He easily confuted the mistakes of Drake, (l) and the misrepresentations of Atwood, (m) who, when the treaty of union was in contemplation, endeavoured, without prudence, or utility, or truth, to prove the dependence of the kingdom of Scotland. For this national service, which was doubtless of importance, at that period, Anderson received parliamentary acknowledgments. The ancient charters in his appendix are, however, of

(k) This essay was printed by the heirs and successors of Andrew Anderson, at Edinburgh, 1705, 8vo.

(l) In his *Historia Anglo-Scotia*, which was printed at London, in 1703; and which was ordered by the parliament of Scotland, on the 30th of June 1703, to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

(m) In his *Superiority of the Crown of England over the Crown of Scotland*, which was printed at London, in 1704; and was also ordered by the parliament of Scotland, in 1706, to be burnt by the common hangman.

much

much more value, at present, than his book, which contains less, either to inform the inquisitive, or to gratify the curious.

Anderson had by this publication evinced, that he had knowledge of charters, and ardour of inquiry. And the same parliament, which had thanked him for the patriotic use, that he had lately made of both, adopted with equal alacrity his proposal, for engraving, and publishing, the ancient charters, and great seals of Scotland. In November 1706, the parliament gave him three hundred pounds, as a mark at once of their approbation, and as a contribution to his expence. He was enabled by these encouragements to make great progress in his arduous work. Before March 1707, he not only expended the three hundred pounds, which had been granted by parliament, but also five hundred and ninety pounds sterling, that he had drawn from his own funds. A committee reported the facts; and the parliament, while they approved of his conduct, voted him an additional contribution of one thousand and fifty pounds sterling; and recommended him to the Queen “as a person, meriting her gracious favour.” One of the last acts of the union parliament was “a recommendation in favour of “ Mr. James Anderson.”

During this moment of encouragement, Anderson thought his fortune, and his fame, established for ever. He had so little prudence, as
to

to relinquish his profession, that he might dedicate his unembarrassed labours to the public. The money, which had thus been voted with alacrity, is said, on I know not what authority, to have been never paid; except indeed we may suppose, that the resolution of a dissolved parliament has not greater efficacy, than the testament of a deceased King. Whether he were honoured with an appointment by the Queen is unknown. He was certainly appointed postmaster general for Scotland, on the 24th of June 1715: but, he was superseded, on the 29th of November 1717, for some cause, which does not appear, by Sir John Inglis of Cramond, who was, in his turn, discharged, soon after the suppression of the rebellion, in 1746, though he was "a hearty whig." Whether Anderson, when he was superseded as postmaster, was appointed a commissioner of the signet, cannot now be ascertained. He had doubtless lived, like other men of greater consequence, to feel the instability of public employment, during the succession of princes, and amidst the competitions of party. When he ceased to be the postmaster general, he gave out proposals for publishing his *Diplomata*. (n)

In

(n) In Watson's *Scots Courant*, of the 25th of February 1718, there appeared the following advertisement:

"Proposals being printed for publishing a book, which
"will consist of above one hundred copper-plates, contain-
"ing

In the mean time, Anderfon was led, either by the bigotry, which he inherited from his father, or by the buſtle, that he had acquired from habit, to join the affociated critics, who had formed a confederacy againſt Ruddiman, and his labours. He was now induced to contribute ſuch aſſiſtance, as a man of no vigorous intellect, and a ſcholar of no extenſive erudition, could give. The confederacy was ſoon after alarmed, by the appearance of JEBB's *Vita et Rebus Geſtis Mariæ Scotorum Reginae*, which were published at London, in 1725, with circumſtances of ſplendour, and notes of applauſe. The confederacy was mortified to ſee two folio volumes, which repreſented Mary, and her cauſe, in a favourable light; and which were nevertheleſs received kindly by the learned, and the great, in England. In this diſtreſs, the confederacy ſummoned Anderfon to give a counter-publication. His prejudice made him willingly obey the call upon his induſtry. And he came out into the world, in 1727, and 1728, with four volumes of

“ ing the ancient charters and ſeals of the Kings of Scotland,
 “ and the alphabets and abbreviations made uſe of in ancient
 “ writings, collected, purſuant to an order of the parliament
 “ of Scotland, by Mr. Anderfon, writer to the ſignet. Any
 “ who incourage that book, may have copies of the propo-
 “ ſals at Mr. Anderfon's houſe, above the general poſt-
 “ office in Edinburgh, and may alſo ſee ſpecimens of the
 “ work at any time between the hours of two and five in
 “ the afternoon.”

Collections relating to the History of Mary Queen of Scotland. (o) Whether he lived to hear the censures of the critics, or to see the frowns of the public, is uncertain. He died at London of an apoplexy, on the 2d of April 1728, at the age of sixty-six. (p)

It soon appeared that, in this publication, he had no fairness of principle, nor accuracy of performance, though he talked of candour and impartiality. Under the show of attachment to truth, he acted with enmity to Mary: yet, contrary to the design of the confederacy, and in opposition to his own purpose, his voluminous publication is, at the present hour, supporting the interests of truth, and vindicating the honour of the Queen. His *Collections* were soon sold at

(o) Two volumes, in quarto, were printed by Mosman and Brown, at Edinburgh, in 1727. In the same year, the third volume was printed by MR. THOMAS RUDDIMAN. And the fourth volume was printed, at London, by James Bettenham, in 1728. That such an antiquary, as Anderson is represented to have been, should entitle Mary, Queen of Scotland, is astonishing, when the charters and seals of his own *Diplomata* would have shewn him, that she was *Scotorum Regina*, as her predecessors had been *Scotorum Reges*. Ruddiman, with his usual acuteness remarks, That it is a sure indication of forgery, when an old charter speaks of the King as *Scotiæ Rex*.

(p) There is a sketch of the life of James Anderson, which seems to have been drawn up soon after his death, in the British Museum, MSS. Birch, N° 4221.

the

the established price of waste paper. The public spirit of the Duke of Devonshire procured him admission to the paper-office; whence he drew some documents, that lost their efficacy from suspicions of his candour. As I lately followed his track, through that great depository of state memorials, it appeared plainly to me, from a comparison of his publication with the papers, that Anderson had neither any true research, nor any real ingenuoufness.

By repeating, in 1727, the same folly, of which he had been guilty, in 1707, Anderson shewed to the eye of discernment an egregious want of judgment. At both those periods, he sacrificed his private interest to what he idly deemed the public service, though he had a family, which had the first claim to his attention. He wandered out of the honourable path, in which the munificence of the parliament had placed him, in order to degrade one of the Sovereigns, to whom his patrons wished to do honour. And he published, on his own account, a book of great expence, without any reasonable hope of profit, while he was oppressed by the penury, which had gradually fallen upon him, from ill-directed projects. He married in his youth a daughter of John Ellis of Ellifton, an advocate at Edinburgh, by whom he had several sons, who

who survived him, (q) yet did not continue his race.

In the progress of his folly, and in the depth of his distress, Anderson pledged his ancient charters, and his copper-plates, to Thomas Paterfon of Conduit Street, London, a friend, who had patronized his labours, and relieved his needs. (r) As early as March 1707, much of this diplomatic work was finished: yet, in April 1728, much more remained to be done. Paterfon, who, we may suppose, was a gentleman, from his being called *esquire*, found the ancient charters, and the copper-plates, a very unproductive estate.—And, meeting with Ruddiman, in London, during the year 1737, he asked that learned and industrious scholar to finish what Anderson, with less diligence and erudition, had begun.

The antiquary world was at length gratified, in 1739, by the publication of *Selectus Diplomatum et Numismatum Scotiæ Thesaurus*, (s) which the

(q) His wife also brought him a daughter, Margaret, who married George Crawford, the author of *The Peerage*, and of *The History of Renfrew*. [Semple's Renfrew, p. 83.]

(r) The plates of the *Diplomata* were sold, in December 1729, by auction, for £. 530. [Gough's Top. vol. 2. p. 571, which quotes the minutes of the Antiquary Society for the fact.]

(s) It was printed, in one large folio volume, by Thomas and Walter Ruddimans, for Thomas Paterfon, in Conduit Street;

the *Acta Lipsiensia* justly described as, *Opus summe magnificum et vere regium*. Such was the modesty, and disinterestedness, of Ruddiman, that he allowed Patrick Anderson, who was the son of James, and comptroller of the stamps at Edinburgh, to dedicate this magnificent work to George II. with hopes, which were never gratified.

Inquiry will easily find, that Ruddiman performed more at the age of sixty-four, in one twelvemonth, than Anderson had done, during the vigour of his life, in twenty years. To Ruddiman must be assigned the elaborate preface; the valuable chronology of the Scottish Kings, from Malcolm III. to George II.; the index to the contents, with disquisitive notes; the index to the names, with illustrative observations; the index and explanation of the places, which are mentioned in the *Diplomata*. To Anderson, we owe what is more curious, though less instructive, the charters, which are finely engraved, by the best artists, both in the ancient and modern writing, with the great seals; and the characters and abbreviations, which are found in ancient manuscripts. These are the contents of the first part of this splendid publication; the second part contains the *Numismata*, being engravings of the

Street, Andrew Millar, in the Strand, and Gawin Hamilton at Edinburgh.—At whatever price this work may have originally sold, it now sells for more than eight guineas.

coins

coins of Scotland, both gold and silver, from the reign of Alexander I. to which is subjoined the *royal medals*. It is apparent, that it required not twenty years to collect, arrange, and engrave the *Diplomata et Numismata Scotiæ*, though the engravers be entitled to more praise than the collector.

It was in 1738, that Ruddiman wrote his *preface* to the *Diplomata*, which, of all his works, exhibits the widest extent of knowledge, and affords the historical reader the greatest variety of information: (*t*) Of the *Preface*, a story is still remembered, which shews that,—

“ Interdum miscentur tristia lætis.”

The aged grammarian was wont to retire, during summer, from his house in town, to a lodging in the country. He retired from the parliament Square to Heriot's bridge, within the city of Edinburgh; thus making his excursion, from the fogs in the Strand, to the air of Piccadilly. In removing his papers, and his books, from the country, to the town, he lost his *copy*. He searched every where; yet could find it no where. He gave way to more despair than became a

(*t*) There was printed at Edinburgh, in 1773, for Charles Heriot, *An Introduction to Mr. James Anderson's Diplomata Scotiæ: to which is [are] added notes, by Thomas Ruddiman, M.A.* I know not who made this inadequate translation of Ruddiman's excellent Preface.

wise man. But, what care sometimes misses, chance often finds. The manuscript of the *preface* was at length discovered in his garret, whither it had been sent, in the provident package of an old cask.

“ Gaudia post luctus veniunt, post gaudia luctus.”

The *Preface* of Ruddiman may be considered as a commentary on the work of Anderson; telling what he ought to have told; and explaining what he ought to have explained. In pursuing the course of the original, the prefacer treats, 1st, of *The Charters*; and 2^{dly}, of *The Coins*. The original design of Anderson comprehended only the *Diplomata*: but, as he extended his views over the whole range of his object, he was induced, partly from fondness of his subject, but more from zeal of patriotism, to add the *Numismata*.

The charters, which Anderson has exhibited with such splendour, and accuracy, extend in their dates, from the year 1094 to 1412: he did not publish more ancient charters; because older he could not find: he did not publish more recent charters, except indeed the charter, wherein Francis and Mary styled themselves, in an unpropitious hour, King and Queen of England; because, from the epoch of 1412, he had observed the general character of writing to continue nearly the same. In order to gain for his country all the honour, which can be obtained from the earlier, or the later,

use of charters, Anderson published a charter of Duncan, that stands the first in his series, though there be engraven on its front the manifest characters of forgery: for, Duncan herein styles himself, *filius Regis Malcolumb constans hereditarie Rex Scotie*: now, the *Constans Hereditarie*, and the *Rex Scotie*, are two circumstances, which are repugnant to the usage of the times, and are inconsistent with the invariable titles of the Scottish Kings. (u) By these objections, were doubts raised in the mind of Ruddiman, who was yet willing to assent to the authenticity of Duncan's charter; because it carries the use of diplomas in Scotland one step farther into the regions of antiquity. It is to be lamented, that such a judgment as Ruddiman's should have been somewhat, perverted on this occasion, by the love of his country, a noble passion indeed, which, however, ought not to enter into competition with the more sacred love of truth.

(u) The following passage from the Chronicle of Mailros, in Gale, vol. 1. p. 158, discovers the mint, whence that coinage seems to have proceeded: "Malcolmus filius Duncan suscepit regnum Scotiæ jure hæreditario." [A.D. 1056.] The seal, which is appended to this charter of Duncan, is an additional proof of its forgery: for, it appears to be a *counterseal*, before the use of *counterseals* was introduced, into Scotland, by Alexander I. who succeeded his brother Edgar in 1107. [See *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, vol. 4. p. 214.]

He

He acknowledges, that there no where exists any genuine charter of Malcolm III. the putative father of Duncan: yet, he labours to prove, that the use of charters had been introduced into Scotland, at a much earlier epoch. There may have existed *grants* though *charters* did not. He admits the existence of “the ancient league, between Charles, the Great, and our King Achaius,” which had been formerly exploded by Rymer, (x) and has been recently ridiculed by Sir David Dalrymple. (y) Ruddiman exerts his research, and displays his learning; but he neither enforces conviction, nor obtains acquiescence. By inquiry, I have been led to believe, that every written document, which pretends to be a Scottish charter of a more ancient date, than the accession of Edgar, in 1097, is a forgery; and that the league of Achaius is a fiction. (z)

Yet, it is seldom that Ruddiman labours in vain. From an elaborate, yet fruitless, inquiry,

(x) In his second letter to Bishop Nicholson, containing, “An Historical Deduction of the Alliances between France and Scotland; whereby the pretended *Old League* with Charlemagne is disproved and the true Old League [1371] is produced and asserted.” London, printed without the year, for T. Hodgson.

(y) Remarks on the History of Scotland, 1773, p. 1.

(z) See Schoepflini *Commentationes*, p. 392, ch. 3. De *Scoto-Hibernia*.

into the origin of diplomas, in Scotland, he proceeds to explain the rise of charters, in general, and the nature of Anderson's, in particular. He extends the meaning of the word *diplomata* to every document, by which the transactions of mankind are established. The primary use of charters is said to consist, in securing the private fortunes of individuals, and in establishing the public rights of nations. The *secondary* use of diplomas arises from the circumstance of their being the best evidence of historical narration.

Ruddiman is thus led to exemplify how the mistakes in the history of Scotland have been rectified by the help of charters. His examples are : The memorable competition for the crown of Scotland, about the year 1291, the accounts of which, having been misrepresented by history, were rectified by the documents, that were published by Rymer ; and which evince, as Ruddiman remarks, that Robert Bruce was the first of the competitors, who acknowledged Scotland to be a fief of England. His second example is the well known imputation of Scottish historians, who attempted, with more malice, than success, to fix the stain of bastardy on Robert III. If there were not other evidences, he engaged to prove from one of Anderson's charters, the falsity of this tale, and the readiness, with which annalists relate falsehood, disregardful of truth, and careless of character.

character. And Ruddiman produces for a third example, the documents of Rymer, at once to illustrate that dark transaction, the death of James III. to exhibit the malevolence of faction, and to chastise the fictions of history.

From the use, the transition is easy to the abuse of charters. Ruddiman proceeds, with his usual learning and accuracy, to establish rules for distinguishing, the genuine from the forged, diplomas. The more general methods of detecting forgery, he shews to be, either the agreement of the letters, in form and character, with the acknowledged alphabet of the particular period; or the consistency of the date with true chronology; or the congruity of the forms and expressions with the jurisprudence and manners of the age. The more particular modes of detecting the fraudulence of deeds, he states to be an accurate examination of the special circumstances of each; its consistence with itself, the kind of paper, on which it is written; and the stamps that are impressed on it, if it be of modern date. He illustrates these rules, according to his practice, by examples. The supposititious diploma of Malcolm III. the fictitious charter of Edgar, and the several forgeries of John Harding, he proves, by the foregoing rules, to be undoubted fabrications, in opposition to Atwood; who having been the chief justice of New-York, during King William's reign, and displaced for malversation,

wrote factiously the well known tract, which was burnt, as we have seen, in Scotland, by the common hangman.

From the first part of the *Diplomata* Ruddiman proceeded, in regular order, to the second, which treats of *Seals*. After all that has been written on this curious subject by Hoppingius, Mabillon, and Heinneccius, our prefacer traces with some novelty, and abundant erudition, the origin of the use, and the causes of the falsification, of seals.

From the discussion of these topicks, which at once gratifies curiosity, and conveys instruction, Ruddiman proceeds to comment on Anderson's *Numismata*. Our editor now treats, with great modesty, and much knowledge, of the *coinage among the Scots*. His elaborate investigations comprehend the origin, and antiquity, of coins; their figure and size; the metals of which they were composed, whether gold, silver, or copper; their agreement, either as to fabrication, or value, with the coins of England; and the various losses, which were sustained by the public, and by individuals, from the successive debasement of the coinage. To these various topicks, he has added *Tables*, in which is shewn how much money of account was coined out of a pound of gold, or silver, from 1371 to 1738. To these, he has subjoined a table, wherein the usual prices of the necessaries of life, in ancient times, are reduced to their modern value. His-
tory

tory may derive from Ruddiman's preface much of that instructive information, which chiefly stamps a value upon historical narratives. (a)

In proportion as there was little cause for apology, he was studious to apologize, when he drew near to the close. His course lay chiefly through an untrodden path; and if he stumbled, or fell, he wished the reader to attribute his mistake, or his misfortune, to the difficulty of the road, rather than to his want of care, or of effort. Of his stile, he was careful to be more perspicuous, than elegant; to sacrifice ornament to use, to study the convenience of the reader, more than his amusement. With regard to the language of didactic writing, he declared his concurrence with the poet:

“ Ornari res ipsa negat, contenta doceri :

“ Et si qua externâ referentur nomina linguâ,

“ Hoc operis, non vatis erit. Non omnia flecti

“ Possunt, et propria meliùs sub voce notantur.”

After this great performance, Ruddiman ceased for a while from his labours, at the age of sixty-five. The *Diplomata*, which added more

(a) Walter Goodal told the late Sir David Dalrymple, as he informed me, that Goodal furnished the materials for Ruddiman's preface: “ But,” says Sir David, “ as I never found Walter sober, I suspect, that he exaggerated a little. Goodal from his conversation appeared to me envious of Ruddiman's fame; and affected to call him *Master Thomas* with a sort of sneer.”

to his renown, than to his fortune, was the last book of any magnitude, which his diligence edited. Having now established his own fame, he turned his thoughts to the introduction of his son into life. With this design, he resigned, on the 13th of August 1739, his half of the printing business to his son Thomas, by his second wife, who was now twenty-five years old, and had been liberally educated; and who had besides been diligently instructed in this ingenious art. Our grammarian, however, allowed his name to continue in the *firm* of the company, in order to give credit to the *house*. (b) He, moreover, lent his son,

(b) This will appear from the subjoined list of books, printed for and by T. W. and T. Ruddimans, and sold at their printing-house, in the Parliament-Close, Edinburgh.

The Whole Duty of Man, fine paper, price 3 s. bound.—
N. B. This is the correctest and most beautiful edition of the book.

Ditto, common paper, 2 s. bound.

A Discourse on Psalm xi. 7. "*For the Righteous Lord loveth Righteousness.*" By the eminently pious and learned John Scott, D. D. with a preface by *Thomas Ruddiman*, M. A. very proper to be perused in these giddy times, wherein the several parties among us are so much divided in their sentiments concerning the nature and essence of true religion.—
price 6 d.

Ruddimanni Grammaticæ Latinæ Institutiones, cum ejusdem notis & animadversionibus, 2 vol. 8vo.

Eædem, sine notis, in 8vo.

Rudiments of the Latin Tongue, in 8vo. 10 d. bound.

Ditto,

son, on his introduction to business, two hundred and fifty pounds, sterling, as an additional aid. That resignation, and this loan, must be allowed to have been a handsome provision for his son, at that epoch; considering the scarcity of wealth,

Ditto, fine paper, 1 s. 6d. bound.

Grammatical Exercises; or an Exemplification of the several Moods and Tenses, and principal Rules of Construction, in 12mo.

P. Virgilii Bucolica, Georgica, & Æneis, ad optimorum exemplarium fidem recensita, in 18°.

C. Julii Cæsaris, nec non A. Hirtii aliorumque commentarii, ex optima atque accuratissima. Fr. Oudendorpii editione expressi in 12mo.

Sallustius, juxta accuratissimam Cortii editionem, 12mo.

C. Nepotis excellentium Imperatorum vitæ, ad nuperas editiones diligenter repurgata, in 12mo.

Decerpta ex Ovidii Metamorphoseôn libris, notis Anglicis illustrata à Gul. Willymotto, &c. 12mo.

Q. Horatii Flacci opera omnia, cum novis argumentis. Edinb. ex officina Jac. Watson, 1713, in 12mo.

Seb. Castalionis Dialogi Sacri, adoptimas editiones summo studio recogniti, cum notis Anglicis, in 12mo.

Selecta Colloquiorum Corderii Maturini centuria, notis Anglicis adpersa à Gul. Willymotto, in 12mo.

Forrest's English and Latin Vocabulary, in 12mo.

Paterfon's Vocabulary, Latin and English, in 12mo.

Drummond's Geography, third edition, with additions, in 8vo.

New Testaments, good paper, and beautifully printed, price 10d.

Colvill's Whigg's Supplication, in 8vo. printed by Ja. Watson.

Polemo-Middinia, price 1 d.

and

and the facility of subsistence. By the inventory, which Ruddiman made of his effects, on that occasion, he valued his whole estate at 2259l. 19s. 10 $\frac{1}{3}$ d. sterling.

It was in 1739, that he purchased of David Rutherford, the Advocate, for three hundred pounds sterling, the house, wherein from this time he lived, in the Parliament Square, amidst the bookfellers, and in the neighbourhood of the Advocates Library. He had now better opportunities of gratifying his passion for chess. He used often to step into the shop of Alexander Symmers, the bookfeller, in that square, to play at this fascinating game. They did not play for money; but, being both pertinacious players, they generally parted in a wrangle.

Amid his amusements, and his business, he never neglected the interest of letters, even at the age of sixty-six. He was always ready to give his help, when his help was asked; "thinking it the duty of every well-wisher to learning to contribute, without any mean views, all that he is able to literary works." In this noble spirit it was, that when Fletcher Gyles, the bookfeller, in Holborn, undertook to publish Secretary Thurloe's state papers, Ruddiman contributed his assistance, in July 1740. (c)

The

(c) The following letter, from Mr. Thomas Ruddiman to Mr. Fletcher Gyles, which was found among Dr. Birch's papers,

The principal part of this voluminous collection was discovered, during King William's reign, in

papers, No. 4317, in the British Museum, is submitted to the reader; because it characterises the grammarian, and the bookseller, and it illustrates the literary manners of the age.

Worthy Sir,

I had the favour of your's the 5th instant, and would have returned an answer sooner, but that I waited the occasion of my good friend and your's Mr. Davidson's going off to your city. I am glad that all the papers are come safe to your hands; and though the several parcels were not kept in regular order, yet at last you have the whole complete. Discouraging with some gentlemen of good taste on the subject, I was advised, that there were some very curious letters that had passed betwixt O. Cromwell and the Laird of Dundass, then governor of the castle of Edinburgh, in the name of several ministers who had retired to that castle, after the battle of Dunbar, in the year 1650. These letters were printed at that time in a small 4to. pamphlet; but as that pamphlet is extremely rare, and the letters are very singular in their kind, and especially for the fanatical cant that appears on both sides, in which, Cromwell, in my opinion, defeats the other party with their own weapons, they are judged not unworthy of a place in your Collections: I have therefore caused transcribe them for you, and shall G. W. transmit them a post or two hence. All the other papers I had from the records of Scotland, which are kept here in what we call the laigh parliament house, *i. e.* the lower part of the parliament house.

As to that part of your's, wherein you are pleased to mention your design of bestowing on me a copy of your work, when finished, for the pains I have been at in collating the papers that were found here fit for your purpose, as I cannot but thank you for your generous offer, so you will excuse me

in a false ceiling of a garret, in Lincoln's Inn, by a clergyman, who had borrowed of Tomlinson, what had once been Thurloe's chambers. The Lord

me to declare, that I will by no means accept it. For besides the disproportion that is between the reward and my small service, I think it the duty of every well-wisher to learning, to contribute (without any such mean views) all that he is able to public undertakings of that kind, especially such as this, which must without any such addition, be otherwise very expensive.—Nay I am afraid that the article alone of the charge you must necessarily be put to upon so great a work, and by consequence of the price, will hinder you from meeting with such encouragement as so laudable an undertaking deserves. I hope you have had tolerable success in your subscriptions in England: but I am sorry to understand from Mr. Trail (to whom I communicated what was proper in your's) that he has as yet got no subscriptions here, but only some promises, that of those many he has applied to, a few will purchase the book when published. Upon these considerations you will forgive me, that I flatly refuse any such compliment, and I believe that Mr. M'Millan will do the same. Thus much however I will consent to, that the Advocates Library be named among the subscribers, and that because our finances are still very low, you will excuse their not paying you any part of the price till the whole is finished; which, God willing, I shall take care shall be all paid then.

I am still your debtor for part of the price of the last parcel I had from you. As I have desired Mr. Davidson to receive some money for me at London, I have likewise directed him to pay off with it the balance yet due to you; upon which you'll please to give your receipt for the whole.

I am very respectfully,

SIR,

Your most humble servant,

T. RUDDIMAN.

Edinburgh, }
15th July 1740. }

Lord Chancellor Somers readily purchased of the finder what had thus been fortunately found. This treasure-trove descended, upon the death of Lord Somers, to Sir Joseph Jekyl, who had married his sister. When Sir Joseph died, in August 1738, Thurloe's papers, which had been thus concealed, and thus found, and which Lord Somers had bound into sixty-seven volumes, in folio, were purchased by Fletcher Gyles. The bookseller determined to publish them, in order to repay himself the price. And the well-known Doctor Birch was employed, as the editor, who slightly mentions the help of Ruddiman. This collection, containing memorials of English affairs, from 1638 to 1660, in seven folio volumes, was published in 1742. Honest Gyles lived not to know the success of his expensive enterprize, having lost his life by a stroke of the apoplexy, on the 8th of November 1741. Though these *Memorials* were published with every circumstance of splendour, with every attention to utility, and with Lord Hardwick's patronage, they have long sold at the established price of waste paper.

It was in August 1740, that Ruddiman wrote what has never been printed, "*Critical Remarks upon Peter Burman's Notes on Ovid's Works.*" The following note, which is the first, may be subjoined as a proper specimen of the acumen of Ruddiman, and the fallibility of Burman:
After

“ After that great critic had observed from a
 “ note of Heinsius, on the place, [Heroid.
 “ Epist. 1. v. 87.] that Virgil and others name
 “ *Zacynthus nemorosa*, while Ovid chose rather
 “ to call it *alta*, immediately subjoins, that
 “ Bochart will have it so named from the rising
 “ hills, which are in it; and then quotes Silius,
 “ lib. 1. p. 275,

“ *Conditus excelso sacrauit colle Zacynthos.*

“ Ubi latè eam describit, quam descriptionem
 “ illustrat Tristanus Comment. Histor. p. 415.”
 Thus he. “ But, this learned man,” says Rud-
 diman, “ is here much mistaken: for Silius
 “ Italicus is not there speaking of the island Za-
 “ cynthos, which is the present Zant, in the
 “ Ionian Sea; but of a person, so called, who
 “ was one of the attendants of Hercules, in his
 “ travels to Spain, and who was killed by a
 “ serpent, and buried there, at the place, that
 “ was called Saguntus from his name. It is this
 “ city, which is so famous in the second Punic
 “ war, that Silius Italicus there describes, with-
 “ out saying any thing of the island Zacyn-
 “ thos, but that the first inhabitants of Saguntus
 “ were fugitives from thence; so that the *excelsa*
 “ *colle* in Silius have no relation to the island,
 “ but to the city Saguntus, which was built at
 “ or near that high hill, where Zacynthos was
 “ buried.”

I

But,

But, no amusement, no pursuit, ever prevented Ruddiman from discharging faithfully his duty, as the keeper of the Advocates Library. He had long laboured, with the help of Goodal, his assistant, in making a catalogue of their books, without which, the best library is useless. This catalogue had been for years commodious to the lawyers. But, when it was at length printed, in 1742, its usefulness was extended to the lettered world.

Ruddiman was, mean time, induced by his piety, to relinquish, for a time, his philological, for religious, studies. He was induced, by a desire of doing disinterested good, to publish, in September 1742, Doctor John Scott's Sermon, with a *preface* by himself. (*d*) His religious mind, like Johnson's, thought it of importance, during *those giddy times, wherein the several parties were so much divided, concerning the real essence of true religion*, to recommend rational divinity, and to enforce genuine devotion.

But, the piety of Ruddiman consisted of action, rather than recluseness. His acts of religion never detained him long from the business of life. And, he was by this spirit enabled, amid the variety of his avocations, to cultivate letters, and to attend to the contests of literature.

(*d*) A Discourse on Psalm xi. 7. by John Scott, D. D. with a *seasonable* Preface by Thomas Ruddiman, M. A. [Scots Mag. 1742, p. 440.]

His attention had been drawn, in 1740, to the angry dispute between Lauder and Love, on the comparative merits of the Psalms, as they had been versified by Buchanan, and Johnston. In his opinion, the disputants were rather carried away by the extravagance of dogmatists, than influenced by the proprieties of critics. (e) But his attentiveness was fixed on this subject, in 1741, by the *prefatory discourse* of Auditor Benson to a new edition of Johnston's Paraphrase of David's Psalms, which was written in such an unusual style of panegyrick, and of censure, with regard to the objects, both of his admiration, and dislike, as to rouse astonishment, and excite indignation.

William Benson, who was at once eccentric, and enterprising, was born in 1681, and was the son of Sir William Benson, that had been a sheriff of London. His education was liberal, and his erudition extensive: but, by indulging his emotions of pedantry, and his pride of purse, he had allowed his self-conceit to cloud his better judgment. After serving, as sheriff of Wiltshire, in 1710, he gave way to his desire of authorship. For his pamphlet on Swedish affairs, of which a hundred thousand copies are said to have been sold, he was examined by the privy-council, and prosecuted by the attorney general. He repre-

(e) MS. notes on his Vindication of Buchanan, p. 70. In his judgment, Love had advanced some assertions against Johnston, which were unfounded.

sented Shaftesbury, in the first parliament of George I. till he was made surveyor-general of the King's works, in 1718, on the mean expulsion of the illustrious builder of St. Paul's;

“ While Wren with sorrow to the grave descends.”

He was, in his turn, dismissed, for representing the parliament-house, as in a ruinous state, when it only wanted slight repairs. He consoled himself, however, by the publication of *Virgil's Husbandry, with notes critical and rustic*, in 1724. He had, mean-while, found more substantial consolation in a grant of the office of auditor of the exchequer, to which he succeeded, on the death of Edward Harley, in August 1735. He was now incited by his vanity to dedicate his attention, and his money, to the honour of Milton. He erected a monument, he struck a medal, and he paid for a Latin translation of *Paradise Lost*. He engaged in other literary projects. He published, in 1739, “ *Letters concerning Poetical Translations, and Virgil's, and Milton's Arts of Verse.*” These paved the way for his *Prefatory Discourse* to his numerous editions of Johnstons's Psalms, (f) with a *Supplément, containing a Comparison, between Johnstons and Buchanan*, in hyperbolical praise of

(f) There were entered at Stationers Hall, on the 16th of January, 1740-41, *Johnstons's Psalms* for William Benson, Esq. and on the 24th of April 1741, the same book; but this last edition was said to be *for the use of the Prince*.

Johnston, and supercilious censure of Buchanan :—

———“ Bold Benson thrust him by :

“ On two unequal crutches propt he came,

“ Milton on this, on that *one* Johnston's name.”

He sent a copy of his splendid edition of *Johnston's Paraphrase* to Ruddiman, who was pleased by his attention, but not bribed by his present. And at the age of seventy, our grammarian sat down to write a *Vindication of Mr. George Buchanan's Paraphrase of the Book of Psalms* (g) in a letter to that *learned gentleman*. Ruddiman had always admired Johnston as an excellent writer. He had a high opinion of his extraordinary genius. He declared his judgment to be, that, for the elegance, and purity, of his diction, the sweetness of his verse, and for the other accomplishments of a great poet, he was inferior to none, and superior to most of the age, wherein he lived. Yet, Ruddiman acknowledged, that Johnston had the blemishes, which were incident to his failings, as a man, and to his imperfections, as a writer.

Our grammarian was, however, astonished, when he beheld “bold Benson” undervalue, in comparison with Johnston, every other poet,

(g) This very erudite book was printed, by W. and T. Ruddimans, at Edinburgh, 1745, 8vo. pp. 390, with the name of the author, as the writer, but not as the printer of the work.

both

both ancient, and modern; not only his favourite *Ovid*, but the celebrated Buchanan.

Ruddiman had been the editor of the *canticles* of Johnston, and the *works* of Buchanan; and though he had reasons, which might have prepossessioned him in favour of Johnston, on whom he had written encomiastick verses, rather than Buchanan, whom justice had required him to censure: yet, like an equitable judge, who separates regard for the person from considerations of the cause; and distinguishing the *moral*, from the *intellectual*, endowments of the two poets, Ruddiman,

“ Unbiaffed by favour, or by spite,
“ Not dully prepossess’d, nor blindly right,”

proceeded to demonstrate, that Benson’s praises of Johnston were exaggerated, and that his censure of Buchanan was unfounded.

During the age, wherein Beza, Grotius, and the Scaligers, flourished, Buchanan was generally styled, *Poetarum sui seculi facile Princeps*. He was acknowledged by those, who were poets themselves; and who—

“ Might censure freely, having written well,”

as the most extraordinary genius, that had appeared for several centuries. Even Johnston allowed his superiority, whom he did not hope either to excel, or equal. From these considerations, Ruddiman inferred generally, that Benson

had attended less to the opinion of contemporary writers, than to the suggestions of his own conceitedness.

From general remark, Ruddiman proceeded, (*b*) in pursuance of his plan, to minute investigation, in order to demonstrate the superiority of Buchanan, and the subordination of Johnston. Our vindicator celebrates the extraordinary merits of both, as to *poetic diction*, giving the praise of *variety* to Buchanan, whose *Lyricks* allowed him greater diversity than the *Elegiacks* of Johnston, which admitted of less choice. He assigns the palm of fidelity to Buchanan, in conforming his sentiments to the nature of the subject, and in studying to make his Paraphrase a faithful representation of the original. He awarded the honours, which belong to clearness, and purity, of language to Buchanan: But, with some hesitation, he acknowledged the superiority of Johnston, in the harmony of his numbers.

The *second part* of the vindicator's design led him to consider the general objections, which Benson had made to Buchanan's paraphrase. (*i*) He now endeavoured with happy success to discharge a debt, which he owed to the memory of so great a genius, whose poetical works, being the most illustrious of his performances, did ho-

(*b*) In chapter 1. p. 7.

(*i*) Chap. 2. p. 121.

nour to his nation. The critic is studious to prove the error of Benson, in idly insisting on an improbability, which cannot be supported, that the translation of the Psalms had been assigned as a *penance* to Buchanan, when he was imprisoned in Portugal. The vindicator at length discovers, that of paraphrases there are two kinds; the one more close, the other more free; the one more confined, the other more diffuse: of the first Johnston made choice; Buchanan of the last. In the Lyrick verse, wherein this great poet translated the Psalms, conciseness was impracticable; yet, his diffusion is always compensated by the clearness, with which he conveys the true meaning of the original: and his *excursions into the fields of fancy*, which had provoked the censure of Benson, Ruddiman vindicates by the practice of Pindar, and the authority of Horace.

It was in the true spirit of captiousness, that Benson discovered, what no poet had ever fancied, and no critic had ever found, that *Buchanan's poetry is but Tully's prose*. Ruddiman evinced the futility of this objection, by shewing how little is the fault of any poet, in borrowing phrases from Cicero, who decked his orations with the choicest flowers of poetry. From hypercriticism our vindicator appeals to *authority*, which is the philologist's *argument*: and, with happy recollection, he shews, that Virgil, the greatest Latin poet, had borrowed felicities of expression from

Tully, the greatest Latin orator. Ruddiman now descends from the heights of authority to the lower regions of investigation, with regard to those words, which were said by dogmatism to be profaick. While he vindicates Buchanan, he exhibits admirable specimens of his own solidity of judgment, and extent of erudition, of his nicety of criticism, and elegance of taste.

But, hypercriticism had not yet finished the trials, which the muse of Buchanan was still to sustain, in the school of Aristarchus. The poet's *dedication*, and three of his finest psalms, were to undergo a more rigorous examination of futility rather than acumen, of captiousness more than of candour. And, Ruddiman was carried forward, (*k*) in the track of Benson, to the last part of his task, which was designed to show, that Benson's objections to Buchanan were unfounded, that his preference of Johnston was unclassical.

On a fair comparison of the two dedications; of Buchanan's to Mary, the Queen of Scots, and of Johnston's to Mary, the Countess of Marischal; Ruddiman speaks of the dedication of Buchanan, as an incomparable epigram; he declares Johnston's dedication to be admirable poetry. This contest of poetic genius may at last be fairly settled upon the prudential maxims of Melvil, with regard to the beauty of the rival

(*k*) In chap. 3. p. 199.

Queens: it may be allowed, then, that Buchanan's Mary was handsomest, at Edinburgh; Johnston's Mary, at Aberdeen. To this decision, however, our vindicator is not willing to assent. He insists, that the praises of Buchanan are founded in truth, and are accompanied with modesty; but that Johnston's panegyricks are run up into improbabilities, which, amounting to falsehood, contaminate the elegant language of an eminent poet. The acuteness of Ruddiman at last discovers in Johnston's dedication, what decisively turns the balance in favour of Buchanan. He finds in the dedication of Johnston, that this rival poet had *aped* Buchanan; the same thought being carried through the whole dedications of both. He at last decides, after a rigorous, yet fair, investigation, that as Johnston's dedicatory poem is but an imitation of Buchanan's dedicatory epigram, to Buchanan ought to be assigned the prize, which belongs to originality of genius, and superiority of performance.

In pursuance of his plan, our vindicator instituted a minute comparison of the three finest psalms of Buchanan, the 1st, the 104th, and the 137th, with the boasted psalms of Johnston. He now compares couplets; he measures syllables; he weighs quantities; he examines the proprieties of verse; he adjusts the niceties of taste: and taking a general view of the *translation* and *language* of the two poets, Ruddiman finally left

it to the critical world to determine, whether he had not vindicated the literary honours of Buchanan from the *groundless cavils* of Benson, and even demonstrated that, through the whole of his noble work, Buchanan was in *every respect greatly superior* to Johnston. While executing this decisive vindication, our venerable grammarian displayed the extensiveness of his learning, and exhibited uncommon specimens of judgment and taste. During his whole task, of exposing hypercriticism, of vindicating one poet, without doing wrong to the other, he seems to have had constantly before his eyes the famous precept:

“ ’Tis not enough, taste, judgment, learning, join ;

“ In all you speak, let truth and candour shine.”

It has been the fate of few men to have had their follies ridiculed, and their ignorance exposed, by such a poet, as Pope, and by such a scholar, as Ruddiman. (1)

How

(1) The following letter, from Ruddiman to Sir Harry Munro of Foulis, bart. dated, at Edinburgh, the 20th March 1750, which, as it shows the modesty of Ruddiman, and is a proof of the classical attainments of Sir Harry Munro, the reader will doubtless be glad to see, at the conclusion of Ruddiman's Vindication of Buchanan:

Hon. Sir,

I am favoured with yours of the 10th instant, in which you complain of my not giving you my thoughts upon the notes, you had put into my hands on Buchanan's Psalms.—When I had the honour of being with you, in the coffee-house, I apprehended, that you were first to have written to
me,

How Benson felt, when he perused the elaborate performance of our judicious vindicator, cannot

me, and in expectation whereof, I deferred giving you my opinion on the subject. But, so far was I from thinking these notes of your's *puerile*, or *quisquiliæ*, as you express it, that upon perusal, which I set about immediately after you put them into my hands, I was not a little surprized, a gentleman of your rank, and years, should discover such an extraordinary acquaintance with these ancient authors of the Belles Lettres, and the various commentators, and critics, that write upon them; that it is hardly to be paralleled, I am sure, in this country by those, that are professors of that kind of learning.—The only fault, I have to your notes, if it can be called a fault, is, that some of them are too minute and particular, and which therefore some may think not very necessary, especially that if you continue that method, through the rest of that paraphrase, which you have taken in the first twenty, it will swell the performance to a very great bulk. I could wish likewise, that in them you would join with me, in vindicating Buchanan, from the exceptions some very unjustly have taken against some passages in that glorious work. I have endeavoured to defend him, as well as I could, but am persuaded, that your extensive knowledge in these matters will enable you to do it to some better purpose, at least to confirm what I have said. As you informed me, that you had applied yourself to the reading of Hebrew, I could likewise wish, that you would touch a little upon the agreement of Buchanan's paraphrase with the original text. I am persuaded, that Buchanan himself knew but little of that language, and that in his version he chiefly followed Vatablus's Commentaries, who was an eminent professor of it, as little do I believe, that Dr. Johnston was conversant in that kind of learning; and it would not be amiss for you to observe how far the encomiums given to the doctor's performance

cannot now be known. He probably began to suspect, that the labours of his life had been only *vanities*. Certain it is, that though he had spent his days, and nights, in a library; yet a short time before his death, he took an aversion to books, which became unconquerable. (*m*) He perhaps discovered what had appeared to Swift, during his lamented depravity; that *these things are only nonsense*. Benson died of a palsy, at Wimbledon, where he had for some years lived, without the intrusion of company, on the 2d of February 1754, at the advanced age of seventy-four.

Of the political perturbations of the years 1745, and 1746, Ruddiman doubtless partook; feeling successively the alternate anxieties of hope and fear. The *young chevalier* he never saw, as he tells himself, *but once, for two minutes*, (*n*)

formance by the authors of the Universal History, on that account, are well founded.

I shall take special care of the sheets, you have already put into my hand, and hope, as your other affairs will permit, you will go on until the whole is finished: And I am very respectfully,

Honoured Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

T. RUDDIMAN.

(*m*) See that very curious book, which no biographical library can be without, Nichols's Life of Bowyer, pages 154, and 559.

(*n*) In the preface, p. 15, to his *Dissertation concerning the Competition between Bruce and Baliol*.

though

though he does not reveal where he saw the grandson of James II. whether in the street, or in the palace. Advanced, as he now was, beyond the seventy-first year of his age, however he may have been employed in his closet, he could take no active part in the field.

After giving assistance, by his researches, to the historian of printing, (o) he continued with his partners, during the years 1745, and 1746, to print the *Caledonian Mercury*, though it was deemed prudent to publish this paper anonymously, from the 23d of September 1745, to the 25th of the following November; yet he did not obtain impunity from his circumsppection.

During the calamitous summer of 1745, Ruddiman retired, from the disturbed scenes of Edinburgh, to the sequestered quiet of the country. Here, like the philosophical Lord Kaimes, he diverted the dreary days of rebellion, by pursuing his accustomed studies. It was in the retirement of a farmer's dwelling, that he wrote, without any purpose of publication, *Critical Observations on Burman's Commentary upon Lucan's Pharsalia*, which that eminent scholar had published, at Leyden, in 1740.

The following extract, from these Observations, will convince the reader, that the light of Burman did not always illuminate the darkness,

(o) See Ames's Typ. An. p. 574.

which

which he wished to illustrate. Let us take, as an example, the first observation of Ruddiman:

“ Unde venit Titan et nox ubi sidera condit.”

Lucan, lib. i. ver. 15.

“ It is evident, “ says our observer,” that the poet
 “ designed here to describe the four quarters of
 “ the world, the east, west, south, and north;
 “ and in this first line, the two former must be
 “ signified: but, Mr. Burman is at a loss, how
 “ to make out *the west*, from these words, *nox*
 “ *ubi sidera condit*; and runs out into several
 “ conjectures, for making these words answer
 “ his purpose, though at last, he is not very well
 “ pleased with any of them. What therefore
 “ Mr. Burman could not explain to his own satisfac-
 “ tion, I think, “ says Ruddiman,” may fairly
 “ be accounted for, in the following manner. It
 “ must be premised, as Mr. Burman has not ad-
 “ verted to it, that the images, in which the
 “ poets represented the revolution of the hea-
 “ vens, the vicissitudes of day, and night, and
 “ the motions of the sun, moon, and stars: ac-
 “ cording to these images, they supposed the
 “ heavens to be divided into two hemispheres,
 “ the one white, or light, and the other black,
 “ or dark: that in the light hemisphere, the sun
 “ bore rule, and advanced almost into the front
 “ of it: that the night presided over the dark
 “ hemisphere, with the stars, and all the other
 “ planets,

“ planets, except the sun: and, of consequence,
 “ when the sun rose in the east, the night set in
 “ the west; on the contrary, when the night
 “ rose in the east, the sun set in the west; there
 “ being always one half of the heavens between
 “ them. From these considerations I hope,”
 continues Ruddiman, “ it will appear, that by
 “ the words, *nox ubi sidera condit*, is to be un-
 “ derstood that quarter of the world, where *nox*,
 “ or the night (being represented as a goddess)
 “ sets, (i. e.) leaves off to be seen, which al-
 “ ways happens upon the sun’s rising: *nox ubi*
 “ *sidera condit*, therefore, is the same thing, as if
 “ our author had said, *ubi nox condit se et sidera*
 “ *quæ illam semper comitantur*; (i. e.) where that
 “ dark hemisphere of the heavens, the night,
 “ and stars, are turned out of our sight, the sun
 “ having occupied the light hemisphere, which
 “ now is come, in the place of the others. I
 “ might confirm what I have said,” Ruddiman
 concludes, “ by a great many testimonies from
 “ the best Latin poets; but, I shall content myself
 “ with the following from Virgil, *Æn.* II. 250.

“ *Vertitur interea cælum, ruit oceano nox.*

“ Where, by the words *cælum vertitur* is, I
 “ think to be understood, that the light part of
 “ the heavens had performed its course, and that
 “ the dark part, with the night, in the front of it,
 “ was coming into its place. And it is to be ob-
 “ served, by the by, that *nox ruit oceano* signify,
 “ that

“ that the night rushed out of the ocean, the pre-
“ position *ex* being understood, and not as the
“ Dauphin interpreter absurdly explains it, in
“ *oceanum*, making the word *oceanus* of the dative
“ case.” But, of this enough, to show the
ingenuity, and strength, of Ruddiman!

From criticizing Burman, Ruddiman ere long
proceeded to criticize himself. In February
1746, he carefully read over his *Vindication of*
Buchanan; correcting the minutest faults, either
of the printer, or the author. With fond atten-
tion to the offspring of his age, he added such
proofs, and illustrations, as he thought, would
either confirm the clear, or elucidate the dark.
From such liberal studies he was ere long di-
verted to other labours, that were less agreeable
to his temper.

Ruddiman had scarcely ceased from vindicat-
ing Buchanan, when he was attacked by pertina-
cious bigotry for his edition of the works of
Buchanan. George Logan, who began unpro-
voked hostilities against our editor, in December
1746, was descended of the family of Logan, of
Logan, in the county of Ayr. He was born, in
1678, and was probably the son of George
Logan, whose profession I am unable to ascertain,
after all my inquiries, by a daughter of Mr. Cun-
nyingham, the minister of Old Cumnock, who was
the father of Alexander Cunnyingham, the Scot-
tish

tish professor of the civil law. (*p*) George Logan, our antagonist, was certainly educated in the university of Glasgow, where he entered himself a scholar, in the Greek class, in March 1693; and where, having obtained his Master of Arts degree, in 1696, (*q*) he chose the church for his profession. He was licensed as a probationer, by the presbyter of Glasgow, about the year 1702. And, being unanimously chosen, by a popular call, to be minister of Lauder, on the 6th of February 1707, in opposition to Stephen Oliver, and George Hall, he was ordained a mi-

(*p*) Logan has this exclamation, in the dedication to his second treatise on government, "What would Burman-
nus, or *my own uncle*, Mr. Alexander Cunnyingham of
" *Bloak*, the most learned civilian, in the age, conclude
" from reading of the preface to Buchanan's works!" By the *Act anent Tunnage*, of the 1st of September 1698, 150l. sterling were granted to Mr. Alexander Cunnyingham, *as professor of the civil law*. By the act of the 1st of Anne, N^o 8, a salary of 1,800l. Scots, yearly, was settled on Mr. Alexander Cunnyingham, the professor of the civil law. On the 22d of July 1710, he was one of the Faculty of Advocates, who augmented the salary of Ruddiman. [See the act of the Faculty for the fac simile of Alexander Cunnyingham's subscription.] These facts prove, that George Logan was not, as we have been lately told, the nephew of Alexander Cunnyingham, the historian and critic, was a very different man from the professor of civil law.

(*q*) I owe a favour to the Reverend Dr. Finlay, the professor of divinity, in the university of Glasgow, for ascertaining the above mentioned dates, by searching the college records.

nister,

nister, by the same presbytery, on the 7th of April 1707. At Lauder he was settled on the 8th of the subsequent May. Here he remained, performing diligently the functions of his ministry, till the 22d of January 1719, when he was ordained the minister of Sprouston, in the presbytery of Kelso, in consequence of an unanimous invitation. His fame as a preacher, reaching Dunbar, he was invited thither, in November 1721, and settled as minister, on the 22d of January 1722.

At Dunbar it was, that he married for his first wife, the sister of Sir Alexander Home of Eccles, in the Merse, who brought him a son and a daughter, both of whom survived him. At Dunbar he continued the exercise of his ministry, till the 14th of December 1732, when he was admitted one of the ministers of Edinburgh, by the influence, probably, of his wife's relations. In 1732, he published his treatise *On the Right of electing Ministers*. Now it was, that his zeal of party induced him to join the associated critics against Ruddiman. He appeared again before the public, as a writer, in 1737. The tumult, in which Captain Porteous lost his life, at Edinburgh, in September 1736, appeared so atrocious to the parliament, that an act was passed, in 1737, *for bringing to justice his murderers, (r)*

(r) 10 Geo. II. ch. 35.

which required, that this law should be read, in the churches, on the first Sunday, in every month, during a year. All the ministers did not think, with Logan, that the will of the legislature ought, on this occasion, to be obeyed. And, he was carried by the activity of his temper into a contest, in 1737, with the late Doctor Alexander Webster, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, on the propriety of refusing obedience to an act of parliament, in a point, wherein it is not easy to perceive, how either conscience, or religion, could be concerned.

Logan obtained, on the 8th of May 1740, the highest honour of his church. At the age of sixty-two, he was chosen the moderator of that general assembly, which, by *deposing* Ebenezer Erskine, and other ministers, gave rise to the *presbytery of relief*.

What Logan suffered from the rebellion, in 1745, cannot now be known. It certainly left a keenness on his spirit, which urged him into controversy, when his age rather wanted repose. And, in December 1746, he attacked Ruddiman, who was then busy on Burman's *Lucan*, and for one-and-thirty years, had neither done, nor said, any thing, which could excite the malevolence of spleen, or move the activity of factiousness, if we except *The Diplomata*.

Logan had from nature no vigour of intellect, from study no enlargement of knowledge, from

habit no precision of reasoning: and, when he came out with his *Treatise on Government*, (s) which abler pens had failed to explain, his friends lamented, that he should have exposed, even to the eye of friendship, an intemperance of spirit, which only enfeebled the efforts of his zeal. He was, in his turn, attacked, ere long, with airy ridicule, rather than with serious argument, (t) while Ruddiman was making preparations for battle, at the advanced age of seventy-two. Logan was too eager for warfare to wait his antagonist's onset: and he paraded, in April 1747, with a second treatise on government, while his opponent was only sharpening his sword.

At length, Ruddiman came into the field with his *Answer* (u) to Logan, in July 1747. In the
first

(s) Logan began his premeditated attack on Ruddiman, by publishing, in December 1746, "A Treatise on Government; shewing that the Right of the Kings of Scotland to the Crown was not strictly and absolutely hereditary. Edinburgh, 8vo, price 2 s." To this he added, in April 1747, "A Second Treatise on Government; shewing that the Right to the Crown of Scotland was not hereditary, in the Sense of Jacobites, Edinburgh, 8vo, price 1 s. 6 d."

(t) In an anonymous letter to the Reverend Mr. George Logan, A. M. Edinburgh, 1747, 8vo, without the name of the printer, or the bookseller.

(u) An Answer to the Reverend Mr. George Logan's late Treatise on Government was printed by Walter and Thomas Ruddimans, at Edinburgh, 1747, 8vo, pp. 402. This answer is embellished with what is said to have been the first engraving

first part of this elaborate work, he undertakes to prove, contrary to the misrepresentations of Logan, that by the ancient constitution of Scotland, the descent of the crown was *hereditary*; in the *second*, that the birth of Robert III. was legitimate. In his preface, Ruddiman lamented that, contrary to his inclination, he should have been obliged to *enter the lists* with Mr. Logan, for whom he long entertained a sincere esteem: but, being called upon to vindicate his writings, he submitted to his fate, though he had never had a passion for debates of any kind; exclaiming *Amicus Socrates, amicus Plato, sed magis amica veritas!*

On the *first* head of inquiry, Ruddiman remarked, that if the spirit of party had not entered into the question, it could have never been doubted, whether the crown of Scotland had been hereditary, or elective. (x) Every descent,
from

engraving of the late Sir Robert Strange. Justice is represented with her proper attributes, weighing *one truth* against *many falsehoods*. Logan even attacked the artist, whose celebrated works are said, by Mr. Walpole, to form an epoch in the art.

(x) Had the disputants only explained their own meaning, a tedious controversy might have been extremely abridged. The crown of Scotland was formerly, what the crown of Great Britain is at present, *hereditary*, but *defeasible*, by proper authority, when called upon, by some great necessity. Logan seems to have thought, that any occasion, and any authority, were quite sufficient to justify the act of defeasibility.

from the origin of the monarchy, to the commencement of the controversy, demonstrates the hereditary nature of the kingship, though it was often interrupted by violence, and sometimes modified by policy. On the other hand, there is no evidence, either in record, or in history, to prove, that it was ever elective. Logan indeed endeavoured to support a contrary opinion, from the following phrases of Buchanan, which are scattered with a liberal hand, through the earlier periods of his history, without quoting authority, though he had tradition against him: *Electus est Rex, susceptus est, populi suffragijs creatur, populus regnare jussit*. Such rhetorical expressions did not impose on the judgment of Ruddiman. If they were to be strictly taken, as conveying an accurate statement of the fact, they must be deemed absolutely false: for, how could that sovereign be said to be elected, who, on the decease of his predecessor, was immediately proclaimed King, before the demise could be known to the country? Buchanan's language, which may be allowed to be fine Latinity, was intended by him, to delude rather than inform, though none could be deluded by it, who wished to be informed.

In order to prove his position, Ruddiman runs over the earlier ages of the Scottish Annals. He Ruddiman thought the necessity must be urgent, and the authority most high, to warrant such an act.

shews

shews now, what indeed had been before shewn by Lloyd, the Bishop of St. Asaph, (y) that Buchanan lays down excellent rules for the writing of history, but departs, in his performances, from his own canons. In his theory, Buchanan raises a loud outcry against the fables of Hector Boece; yet, in his practice, he adopts, and embellishes, the ridiculous fictions of that credulous annalist. If we did not know the motives of Buchanan, we should be astonished to see him, with an unlucky pen, attributing qualities, either good, or bad, to forty kings, who never existed, except in the visionary pages of Boece. Romance may claim this species of composition, for her own, though history must disclaim it, as illegitimate. It required not, indeed, the vigour of Ruddiman to overthrow the weakness of Logan, who laid the foundations of the government, which he affected, either on the wild fables of Boece, or on the more despicable fallacies of Buchanan.

In this temper, Ruddiman reviewed, in one hundred and fifty-eight pages of accurate investigation, the *first part* of Logan's *Treatise* on government. Having arrived at the *second part*, such a scene opened on our reviewer's eyes, as, in his belief, the world had never seen before. It

(y) In his admirable Account of Church Government,—the preface.

was indeed a lamentable sight to behold “ a minister of the gospel of truth,” attempting, by reiterated efforts of captiousness, “ to disprove a fact, the truth of which is so manifest, that there is no withstanding it, unless we will become absolute sceptics.” Yet such, in the judgment of Ruddiman, was the conduct of Logan, concerning the *legitimacy* of Robert III. the King of Scots, whom he endeavoured to prove a bastard, by the factious labour of years, in opposition to the satisfactory documents, which had been produced, for detecting a calumny, that had been raised, without cause, and was continued, without authority.

Ruddiman was now carried deep into the curious history of that calumny, either by his love of truth, or by his zeal of loyalty. It was the continuator of *Fordun's Scotichronicon*, whoever he were, whether Walter Bowmaker, Patrick Ruffel, or Magnus Macculloch, who, during the reign of James II. fabricated the following story: “ Robert III. whose original name was *John*, the Steward, was with his brothers Robert, and Alexander, begotten in concubinage, between Robert II. before his accession to the throne of Scotland, and Elizabeth Mure, the daughter of Sir Adam Mure of Rowallan. Robert II. while he was yet the Steward of Scotland, married Eupheme Ross, the daughter of Hugh, Earl of Ross, by whom
“ he

“ he had two sons, and one daughter. And
 “ having succeeded to his uncle David II. and
 “ Queen Eupheme having died in the third
 “ year of his reign, he married his concubine
 “ Elizabeth Mure, whose children were thereby
 “ legitimated, and whose eldest son ascended
 “ the throne by the name of Robert III.” Such
 is the story, which, having been first told by the
 continuator of Fordun, was copied implicitly by
 Boece, by Lesly, by Buchanan, and by the
 whole tribe of Scottish historians, who either
 shrunk from the trouble of research, or felt not
 the charms of truth. Neither Fordun, indeed,
 nor Winton, who lived at the time, knew any
 thing of this tale, at least did not think it worthy
 of notice, improbable as it is, in the creation,
 and contradictory as it appears, in the narra-
 tive.

The investigation of discoveries will ever be
 interesting to man, as an inquisitive being. The
 discoverer will always be recollected with praise,
 as the benefactor of mankind. Sir Lewis Stew-
 art, who was one of the greatest lawyers, of whom
 Scotland can boast, had the honour, when Lord
 Advocate to Charles I. to discover the falsehood
 of that story, by searching *the records*, for ascer-
 taining *the fact*. And, he found an act of the
 first parliament of Robert II. [1371], which
 proved, that Elizabeth Mure was his *first* wife,
 and which recognized her sons, as *lawful heirs* to

the throne. He also discovered twenty charters, which, by stating John to be the eldest son and *heir* of Robert, the Steward of Scotland, by Elizabeth Mure, confirmed the authentic notices of the act of parliament, if the plain assertions of the members of parliament, had required confirmation. All these discoveries, which established *the fact* by *record evidence*, Sir Lewis communicated to Charles I. when he returned to Scotland, who had, however, no leisure for genealogical inquiries, though he might thereby have gratified his pride. Logan was so absurd, as to doubt the existence of the act of parliament, and so irrational, as to deny the efficacy of charters, for proving *the fact*.

Sir George Mackenzie, who succeeded Sir Lewis, in his knowledge of law, and in his office of advocate, also followed him in his track of discovery. He too found, among the records, an act of the parliament [1473], which entailed the crown on John the *eldest son* of Robert II. by his *first* marriage; and, if John should fail, on the other sons of Robert II. by his first, and second, wife. Sir George also discovered various charters, which speak of *John* as the eldest son, and *heir*, of Robert II. by his first wife, with the consent of his second wife, and with the approbation of her family. These discoveries, Sir George dedicated in his *Jus Regium*, to the university of Oxford, in 1684, the *authority* of which, he declared,

clared, would weigh as much as private men's *arguments*. Had Sir George been less romantic, he had left less cause for the cavils of Logan, who continued to doubt his authority, and to dispute his inferences.

The track of discovery, being now laid open, made it easy to sail in the wake of the first discoverers. Lewis Innes, the well-known principal of the Scots college at Paris, having found a charter, in the archives of his college, dated at Perth, on the 12th of January 1364, assembled the antiquaries of France, with the illustrious Mabillon at their head, in order to ascertain the genuineness of a charter, which proved, that *John was the eldest son and heir of Robert by his first marriage; and that a dispensation for this marriage had been obtained from the Pope*. The antiquaries, being thus assembled, in May 1694, viewed the parchment, no doubt, inspected the seal, examined the characters, and compared the circumstances, before they pronounced their final decree of absolute authenticity. The principal published, with triumph, in 1695, what he had thus found; and Mabillon re-published, with alacrity, what he had thus authenticated. But, confident in his own folly, Logan disputed the diplomatic knowledge of the French antiquaries, who, as he gravely insisted, were acknowledged papists, and, of course, were unfit judges of what belonged to authentic papers!

It

It was reserved for the learned research of George, Earl of Cromarty, the Lord Register of Scotland, to methodize the discoveries of others, and to add to them his own. When his Lordship, however, published, in 1695, *The Vindication of Robert III.* and his Descendants, from the imputation of Bastardy, the blunders of the printer destroyed the efficacy of his labours, by confounding dates, which, his Lordship neglecting to correct, in his first edition, threw discredit on his arguments, by involving him in controversy. The architectural genius of Logan built, on this unstable basis, a superstructure, which the powerful arm of Ruddiman easily pushed from its place.

In the list of investigators, the Earl of Cromarty was followed by Rymer, the historiographer, who sent out his *Letter to the Bishop of Carlisle*, in 1702, wherein *Robert III. is beyond all dispute freed from the imputation of bastardy.* Rymer drew his proofs, from the Tower of London, as the Lord Register had drawn his documents, from the castle of Edinburgh. In the long period, which elapsed from the captivity of David II. in October 1346, to his demise, in February 1370-1, England and Scotland, being in continual treaty for his ransom, John, the son of Robert, the Steward, was constantly in the view of both the nations, and always passed, in the public acts, for *the first begotten son, and heir, of Robert, the Steward*

ard of Scotland. In order to prove these facts, Rymer either referred to records in the Tower, or appended charters to his letter, that spoke with decisive authority to all, who knew the value of such documents, which were nevertheless impugned by the feebleness of Logan, and supported by the vigour of Ruddiman.

Yet, the national archives had not even now been exhausted of their authentic proofs. Richard Hay produced, in 1723, his *Vindication of Elizabeth Mure, from the Imputation of being a Concubine*, which is, at present, more curious for the charters, that he published, than estimable for the inferences, which he drew from them. (z) Hay of Drumboote was one of those antiquaries, who was possessed of excellent materials, yet wanted sufficient skill to erect a fabric, either with Greek grace, or with Gothic strength. He brought a thousand charters to prove what had been already proved; but, he adduced no proof, that the dispensation for the marriage of Robert, the Steward of Scotland, and Elizabeth Mure, had been obtained, and the marriage consummated, in 1334, which were the points, that he had engaged to prove, with more confidence, than ability.

Here, then, is the state of the question, with regard to the legitimacy of Robert III. at the

(z) The *Vindication of Hay*, was printed, at Edinburgh, by William Adams, jun. 1723, 4to. pp. 132.

commencement of Logan's attack on Ruddiman. Upon the one side, the acts of parliament, and the records before mentioned, had demonstrated, that Elizabeth Mure was the *first* wife of Robert, the Steward, whom he had married by a dispensation, and by whom he had John, his eldest son, who was acknowledged by the two nations, in their public transactions, as his heir, and recognized by the parliament of Scotland, for his successor. On the other side, there were only the unauthorized assertions of the Scottish historians, from Bowmaker to Buchanan, who merit little praise for their historical investigations, and deserve some censure for their historical falsehoods. Logan laboured, through many a captious page, to invalidate the strength of the most satisfactory proofs. Ruddiman answered the cavils of his antagonists with a superiority of knowledge, which has seldom been surpassed in any contest. The late Sir David Dalrymple, however, informed me, "That in the dispute, concerning the
" legitimacy of Robert III. Ruddiman had the
" right side to maintain, but on the whole, did
" not conduct it with skill and precision: both
" the antagonists were past their labour."

On the contrary, I can perceive no decline in the powers of Ruddiman; at the same time, I agree with that excellent judge, that Logan never had any powers. I am ready to admit, that Sir David would have conducted that controversy
with

with more skill, and precision. Yet, I think, that Ruddiman made out his point incontrovertibly. And, in order to place the legitimacy of Robert III. beyond the reach of cavil, he appended to his answer, 1st. The charter, which had been first printed by Innes, and afterwards re-published by Mabillon; 2dly. The declaration of parliament, in 1371, whereby John, the first-born son of Robert II. is called to the succession; and 3dly, the declaration of parliament, in 1373, with regard to the succession of the sons of Robert II. which, being on that occasion published with more accuracy, induced our reviewer to hope, that there could remain no doubt, whether John, who assumed the name of Robert III. were his father's eldest son by Elizabeth Mure, his first wife. The *Answer* of Ruddiman, however, though supported by those documents, made no impression on the impenetrable dulness, nor raised any blush on the pertinacious bigotry, of Logan. Yet, it must be allowed, that the date of the dispensation, and the epoch of the marriage, still remained to be ascertained, for removing doubts, and settling conviction. (a)

In our own day, the arguments of Ruddiman have been greatly enforced, and the interests of truth considerably strengthened, by the procure-

(a) There was published at Edinburgh, in 1749, by Mr. Gordon of Buthlaw, a very able work, *De Nuptijs Roberti Senescalli Scotiæ atque Elizabethæ Moræ Dissertatio.*

ment of the additional proofs, which only scepticism wanted before. Mr. Andrew Stuart, who is known, in the juridical world, for his diligence of research, and accuracy of investigation, has found in the archives of Rome, the two dispensations for the marriages of Robert, the Steward, first with Elizabeth Mure, and secondly with Eupheme Ross. (b) Yet, whether these proofs will convince the Logans of the times cannot easily be foretold. Bigotry will ever have her votaries, prejudice her slaves, and faction her partisans.

In the midst of this controversy, Ruddiman suffered more from misfortunes, that he could not prevent, than from the attacks of opponents, which he could easily repel. He lost his only son, at the age of thirty-three. This son, who bore his own name, and was the hope of his years, was appointed the principal manager of *the Caledonian Mercury*, when James Grant, the active partner, rushed into rebellion, in November 1745. The *Caledonian Mercury* was regarded with peculiar jealousy, and its circulation was much impeded, by the ruling powers, in Scotland, even after the terrors of insurrection had ceased. For an unlucky paragraph, which had been copied into the *Mercury*, from an English news-paper, in significant Italics, was young

(b) See Mr. Astle's elaborate work on *The Seals of Scotland*, p. 10.

Ruddiman imprisoned, in December 1746. The merit, and sollicitude, of his father, obtained his discharge, at the end of six weeks imprisonment. But the prisoner had meantime contracted a disease, in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, which brought him to his grave, on the 9th of September 1747. (c) Our grammarian sought consolation from his piety, as he could find no reparation for this wrong, which was done by the jealousy, rather than the injustice, of power.

By Mr. Boswell I have been told, “ That
“ Ruddiman’s son attended the pretender, in his
“ marches, with his printing press, and printed
“ his declarations ; and that, being for this im-
“ prisoned, Ruddiman, by the advice of Lord
“ Achinleck, applied for his discharge to Ar-
“ chibald, Duke of Argyle, by a letter, in which
“ he called the late rebellion, the *late insurgency*,
“ and, by no persuasion, could be made to alter
“ it.” Such is the story, which the kindness of
Mr. Boswell communicated to me, as—

“ An honest tale, that speeds best, being plainly told.”

Let us examine this *honest tale* a little. The Ruddimans, indeed, may have printed the Pretender’s declarations, while his power was irresistible at Edinburgh, and while a sergeant and a guard surrounded the printing-house. But, neither their persons, nor their press, for a moment

(c) Scots Mag. 1747, p. 455.

attended

attended the insurgents, who had no printer with them, when they arrived at Glasgow. (*d*) Thomas Ruddiman, the younger, was imprisoned, as we have seen, for adopting, at a subsequent period, a harmless sarcasm from an English news-paper. The Caledonian Mercury uniformly spoke of the *insurgents*, as *rebels*, except, during the period, when it had been foolish to offer an insult, which had been instantly avenged, by triumphant insurgency. Ruddiman *publicly* called this insurgency a *rebellion*, at the same time, (*e*) that, according to the tale, neither persuasion, nor necessity, could induce him to adopt *privately*, the word *rebellion* instead of *insurgency*. From this story, as compared with facts, it is easy to perceive that, when the glitter of wit is preferred to the illuminations of accuracy, it is not a difficult task,

“ To point a moral, or adorn a tale.”

From the unlooked-for death of his son, Ruddiman found it necessary to make a new arrangement of his typographical affairs, though it

(*d*) In the Caledonian Mercury, dated the 10th of January 1746, there is the following article of news: “ The
“ *rebels* carried off from Glasgow a *printing press*, types,
“ and other materials, for that business, together with some
“ servants to work, in that way. When they carried off
“ these materials, they did it in this manner, that is, from
“ one printer, they took a press; from another, some types;
“ and from a third, chases, furniture, &c.”

(*e*) In the preface to his *Answer* to Logan, 1747.

made

made little change in his usual habits. His daughter Alison, being her brother's executor, and heir, became in this manner proprietor of his share of the printing-house, which he had enjoyed, since August 1739. But, her situation making the business of a printer an unsuitable property, she was thereby induced to convey her interest to her father. And, on the 16th of May 1748, he entered into "A contract of co-partnery," with his brother Walter, "to carry on the printing-business, and the newspaper, as formerly, share and share alike." Considering that this project might be advantageous to their posterity, they now settled the printing-house, and the *Caledonian Mercury*, on their nearest, and lawful, heirs, respectively, in lineal descent. (f) In the typographical annals of Scotland, it is a remarkable fact, that a printing-house, and its materials, did not descend to executors, as chattels, but to heirs, as inheritances. And, owing to this peculiarity, in the law of Scotland, the heirs of Andrew Anderson continued to be the King's printers, for upwards of thirty years, during the reigns of Charles II. and James II. of King William, and Queen Anne.

Neither those arrangements, nor that disaster, could protect Ruddiman against attacks from the

(f) MS. Contract.

P

notaries

votaries of bigotry, the slaves of prejudice, or the partizans of faction, who were not to be convinced by the cogency of his arguments, nor over-awed by the superiority of his powers. From the crowd, Logan again advanced to the charge, in May 1748, by giving his antagonist *the Finishing Stroke*; and exhibiting Mr. Ruddiman as *self-condemned*. In *reply* to Ruddiman's *Answer*, he pretends, though without adequate performance, “to demonstrate, 1st. That the right of the kings of Scotland to the crown was not strictly and absolutely hereditary, either from the succession of Robert Stewart to the exclusion of John Baliol, who had the preferable right, or from the succession of Robert Stewart, contrary to the just claim of William Earl of Douglas; 2dly. That the right of our kings to the crown of Scotland was not strictly and absolutely hereditary, from the succession of Robert III. who was begotten out of lawful marriage.” The *Demonstrations* of Logan consist, in supposing what he ought to have proved, in cavilling at what could not be confuted, and in disputing what could not be denied.

Such was the imbecility of Logan, that it called forth the support of those, who pitied his weakness, though they favoured his cause. The coadjutors of Logan found *the Magazines* of the times ready to receive their goods, whatever might be the texture, or the hue, of them; whether their wares were discoloured by prejudice,
or

or debased by falshood. (g) And, there were well-meaning persons, who, considering Ruddiman as the champion of *Jacobitism*, and desiring to impugn his writings, and to lessen his character, were forced by their zeal, in order to gain their objects, to introduce fiction into history, absurdity into argument, and foolishness into law. With their well-meaningness, they had none of that rectitude of mind, which, disregarding factionousness, would rather insist, that the *Revolution* was *just*, because it was *necessary*; and being founded in necessity, it did not require for its justification, that history should be falsified, or the constitution perverted.

At the age of seventy-four, Ruddiman advanced once more against his antagonists, without losing *one jot of heart, or hope*. The impertinence of Logan had, mean time, held up the *terrors of the law*, in order to frighten the opponent, whom he could not confute. But, he had mistaken modesty for cowardice. And, he only called out the fortitude of Ruddiman to demand: “Am I to
“ fear, when after one *rebellion* is quashed, I
“ have the courage to defend what I before said,
“ to give countenance to another, as he falsely

(g) See the Edinburgh British Magazine, 1747, for two papers, in support of Logan; and the Scots Magazine, 1748, p. 61, 62, 65, 271, 339, 64; and the Scots Mag. 1749, p. 578. The *Review of the Controversy*, which was published, in the Edin. Brit. Mag. 1747, was supposed by Ruddiman to have been written by Mr. Paton of Pittenweem. [MS. note on Burman's *Lucan*.]

“ represents me? Most of my annotations on
 “ Buchanan were written, before there was any
 “ appearance of *rebellion*, [1715], and had no
 “ other view, but to declare what I then did, and
 “ still do take to be real truths: The liberty of
 “ the press is one of the great privileges of the
 “ late Revolution; but is that liberty confined to
 “ one party only, and not allowed to another?
 “ Must one set of men have the liberty of pouring
 “ forth perpetual reproaches against our former
 “ kings, and shall not another have the same li-
 “ berty of defending them? Is it commendable
 “ in a Scotsman to write against the ancient con-
 “ stitution of his own nation, and run down the
 “ independence of it? and is it a fault in others
 “ to maintain the dignity of both?” (*b*) In
 this spirit, Ruddiman produced, in May 1748,
 his *Dissertation, concerning the Competition for the
 Crown of Scotland, between Lord Robert Bruce,
 and Lord John Baliol, in the year 1291.* (*i*)

In this elaborate dissertation, Ruddiman en-
 deavoured to prove, “ that by the laws of God,
 “ and nature; by the civil, and feudal, laws;
 “ and particularly by the fundamental constitution
 “ of Scotland, the right of Robert Bruce was
 “ preferable to the pretensions of John Baliol.”
 To this arduous inquiry he added an Appendix;

(*b*) See the preface to Ruddiman's Answer to Logan, p. 8.

(*i*) This tract was printed, at Edinburgh by T. and W. Ruddimans, 1748, and contains 123 octavo pages.

“ de-

“demonstrating, that the claim, which is said to
“have been made to the crown of Scotland, by
“William, the first Earl of Douglas, 1371, is
“without foundation.”

It may easily be supposed, that such a scholar as Ruddiman, who lived in a law-library, who possessed a retentive memory, a vigorous intellect, and extensive erudition, would produce a treatise, which had been matured by thought, elaborated by diligence, and illuminated with learning. Yet, in taking a wide compass of enquiry, he appears to have departed a little from his usual judgment. By running into devious paths, he offered opportunities to his opponents, of which they took insidious advantage. By attempting, in his ardour of loyalty, and exuberance of knowledge, to do much, he did less than he might have done. It was unnecessary to prove the right of Bruce, from the laws of God, and nature, from the civil, and feudal, laws: it had been sufficient to show, that the title of Bruce was preferable to the claim of Baliol, according to the fundamental constitution of Scotland.

The truth is, as he himself ingenuously admits, (*j*) that trusting too much to Boece, Lesly, and Buchanan, who give an account of the law of Kenneth III. whereby, as they pretend, that monarch, who began to reign in 970, regulated the

(*j*) Dissertation, p. 43.

succession to the crown, *he suffered himself to be imposed upon by them*: Yet, he at last trusted to Fordun, whom he calls the most ancient, and credible, historian of Scotland, and was equally misled by him. Kenneth III. never established any law, for regulating the descent of the crown, though Fordun, and his copyists, assert that he did. (*k*) But, what are *assertions* when opposed by *facts*! The historians neither quote any authority, nor had any document to quote, when they speak of this legislative act of Kenneth, which, as its existence is inconsistent with probability, is not to be acknowledged, without the most indubitable proof.

On the other side of this curious question, it may be clearly shown, that the uniform practice has been in direct opposition to the supposed rule. Kenneth, who united the monarchy about the year 840, was succeeded by his brother Donald, in preference to his son Constantine. Ethus and Gregory both succeeded to the crown, before the accession of Donald, the son of Constantine. Malcolm, the first, the son of Donald,

(*k*) It was properly remarked, by the late Lord Hailes, "That the competitors for the Scottish crown, in 1291, never appealed to the laws of Kenneth." From their silence, on that occasion, his lordship very justly inferred, that *the fiction*, with regard to those laws, did not, at that early period, exist, in the history of Scotland. [Annals, vol. 1. p. 217-18.]

was postponed to Constantine, the third. And Indulph succeeded this Constantine, in preference to Duff, the son of Malcolm, who was followed by Culene, the son of Indulph. At the end of this long course of demises, and preferments, in which we see the son never succeeded to the father, we behold Kenneth III. assume the government in 970, (*l*) who is said to have regulated the descent of the crown. Yet, he was not succeeded by his sons Grime, or Malcolm II. but by Constantine, the son of Culene. Malcolm II. was succeeded, in 1034, by his grandson, the *gracious* Duncan, who was assassinated by the *worthy* Macbeth, in 1039. Malcolm, Canmore, acquired the crown, in 1057, after the death of Macbeth. And, in 1093, Malcolm, Canmore, was succeeded by his brother Donald, and by his bastard son, Duncan, before the accession of Edgar, his legitimate son, in 1097. Those indubitable facts exhibit a genuine picture of the Caledonian constitution, in those *good old times*, when few of the Caledonian Kings died quietly in their beds; and when the right of representation either of the grandson, or the son, was unknown, in the uniform practice of the country. (*m*)

I have

(*l*) See Lesley, De Reb. Gest. Scot. edit. 1578. Stemma iiii. lib. 4. and Innes's Crit. Essay, vol. 2. the Appendix, No. 4, and 5.

(*m*) "The proper answer," says Lord Hailes, An. vol. 1. p. 217, "to the examples from the history of Scotland,

I have stated those facts, and that practice, in order to show, that the law of Kenneth, which has been so often mentioned by history, with gossiping credulity, like the Macalpine laws, is altogether a fiction. Donald, the brother of Kenneth III. and Donald, the brother of Malcolm III. succeeded, as many of their predecessors had done, in preference to their nephews, according to the ancient constitution of the Caledonian regions. This constitution, licentious as it was in its principle, and violent in its effects, continued to shed its baneful influence on Scotland, even to the period of the competition between Bruce and Baliol. And, under this constitution, the right of Bruce, who was the nearest in blood to the royal stock, was preferable to the claim of Baliol, who was one step more remote.

“ where the uncle excluded the nephew, seems to be this, “ that *they were usurpations.*” I lament, that I should be obliged to controvert the opinions of Lord Hailes, for whose person I had a just esteem, and for whose memory I have a sincere respect. But, I must be permitted to observe, that in reasoning, it is very sophistical to take for granted the very point, which ought to be proved: and, in argument, it is most illogical to suppose a constitutional principle to exist, in opposition to the established practice: for, what is the common law of a country, but the common usage of the same country? and what is the common usage, but the usual practice? Now, the examples before mentioned, from the history of Scotland, are the best proofs of the common usage, of the violence of the times, and of the feebleness of the government.

This

This light, however, did not strike the eyes of Ruddiman: his attention had been carried off to other objects. He saw, indeed, what he endeavoured to make others see, that *masculinity* gave Bruce the preference to Dervorgilla, the mother of Baliol. And, in order to clear away all obscurities, he referred to the act of settlement of the crown, in 1318, which proved that, in the judgment of parliament, the right of succession, according to the ancient constitution, belonged to the next heir male, in case of failure of the right line.

Ruddiman, however, relied on two arguments, which, in this controversy, had chiefly determined his judgment, though they be not altogether decisive. He insisted *first*, that two successive Kings, Alexander II. and Alexander III. had recognized Robert Bruce, the competitor, as their rightful heir: *secondly*, that the clergy, nobility, freeholders, and the whole community, declared solemnly, that the right to the crown did belong to Bruce, the competitor, then to his son Robert, the Earl of Carrick, and lastly to Robert, the illustrious hero, who was crowned at Scone, on the 27th of March 1306. On this second argument, Logan and Ruddiman might have joined issue. They might have both admitted, that amidst that uncertainty of law, and those violences of faction, the best right of Bruce

was

was the parliamentary settlement of the crown on his family.

Here, Ruddiman might have closed his proofs. But, a desire, of securing his positions against the attacks of the enemy, induced him to shew, by elaborate investigation, that the right of representation had not then taken place, as to the descent of the crown, whatever it might have done, as to private inheritances. He was thence led to recollect, that Bruce, the competitor, had contended with the manliness of the Bruces, that the right to the crown ought not to be decided by the same rules, which direct the descent of private inheritances. It is a curious remark, in the history of *mind*, that this reasoning of Bruce is the same, which enabled the late Mr. Justice Foster to rectify some misconceptions of the great Lord Chief Justice Hale, with regard to the dispute, between the rival houses of York and Lancaster. Had Ruddiman advanced only another step, by considering government as *a trust*, which must be subject to the maxims, that regulate trusts, his triumph over his antagonists had been more compleat. When pressed in the combat, indeed, the good sense of Ruddiman induced him to acknowledge, that the descent of the crown is defeasible, by some urgent necessity, which must, however, limit the time, denote the circumstances, and warrant the extent, of a *revolution*.

Once

Once in a thousand years, I admit, said Ruddiman, necessity may produce, and justify, *a revolution*, which ought to be considered as an exception to all rules, and as an anomaly from all constitutions: but, your principles, said he to his antagonists, lead you to accomplish, and defend, *a revolution*, on any petty occasion, once a year, once a month, or once a week, at whatever danger of civil war, at whatever certainty of general anarchy, at whatever risque of private happiness. In treating of the revolution in 1688, Blackstone, with the good sense of Ruddiman, left it to stand on its own foundation, and to be justified by its own necessity. When, among wise men, the *fact* of a *necessity* is once admitted, the *justification* follows, as a *consequence*, without inventing any fiction, without propagating any falsehood, and without teaching any absurdity.

Ruddiman, at length, took leave of Logan, his pertinacious antagonist, though Logan did not take leave of him. “I will betake myself,” said our learned dissertator, at the age of seventy-five, “to business more suitable to one of my “ years, and inclinations.”

Neither the superiority of Ruddiman, nor his wish to retire from the altercation of contest to the *business* of his age and *inclination*, made the least impression on the perversity of Logan, whose zeal of factiousness, and affectation of authorship,

thorship, were unbounded. And, in February 1749, he made a fresh assault on Ruddiman, with a *Second Finishing Stroke*, which must be allowed to be equal to the first, in promising demonstrations, that were never accomplished.

His impatience was, however, as great as his pertinacity. Without waiting for the comfort of an answer, Logan sent out, in April 1749, a *Letter to Ruddiman*; (n) in which, “the doctrine
“ of the jure-divino-ship of hereditary, indefea-
“ sible, monarchy, is inquired into, and explod-
“ ed.” Logan’s ardour of disputation urged him, at length, to regard

“ The quiet life as in the dale below.”

And, his impatience produced, in May 1749, a *second Letter to Ruddiman*; (o) “vindi-
“ cating Alexander Henderson, the minister
“ of Edinburgh, from the aspersions of Rud-
“ diman, Sage, and other high-flying writers,
“ as guilty of injuries to King Charles I. and
“ as repenting of his management of public
“ affairs, from the year 1638, till his death,
“ August 12th, 1647.” Such is Logan’s inac-
curacy, amidst his impatience, and his haste, that in his *title page* he sends Henderson to the grave, in 1647, though the monumental inscription, which he appended to his tract, demonstrates, that famous covenanters to have escaped from

(n) Scots Mag. 1749. p. 208.

(o) Ib. p. 256.

the troubles of the covenant, in the year 1646. (*p*).

Ruddiman

(*p*) The following enumeration exhibits a compleat view of the six treatises of Logan against Ruddiman: 1. "A Treatise on Government; shewing that the Right of the Kings of Scotland to the Crown was not strictly and absolutely hereditary," &c. Edinburgh, 1746, 8vo. pp. 186.

2. "A Second Treatise on Government; shewing that the Right to the Crown of Scotland was not hereditary, in the Sense of Jacobites," Edinburgh, 1747, 8vo. pp. 160.

To these he added, in May 1748, 3. "The finishing Stroke: or Mr. Ruddiman self-condemned; being a Reply to Mr. Ruddiman's Answer to (only) Mr. Logan's first Treatise on Government, in two parts.—The first demonstrates, that the right of the Kings of Scotland to the crown was not strictly and absolutely hereditary.—First, from the succession of Robert Stewart, to the exclusion of the descendants of John Baliol, who had the preferable right.—Secondly, from the succession of Robert Stewart, contrary to the just claim of William Earl of Douglas.—The second part demonstrates, that the right of our Kings to the crown of Scotland was not strictly and absolutely hereditary, from the succession of Robert III. who was begotten out of lawful marriage." Edinburgh: printed by R. Fleming; and sold by the book-sellers here, and at Glasgow, 1748, 8vo. pp. 168.

4. "The finishing Stroke: or Mr. Ruddiman more self-condemned, part 2d; shewing the history and mystery of a long series of deceitful and unfair management with respect to two acts of parliament, anno 1371, and 1373, and the Parisian Charter, anno 1364: and demonstrating that the right to the crown of Scotland was not hereditary, in a strict sense, from the succession of Robert III. begotten and born out of lawful marriage. By Mr. George Logan, one of the ministers of Edinburgh." Edinburgh: printed by R. Fleming;

Ruddiman had already relinquished Logan to the pains, or to the pleasures, of his own restlessness. "As that author," said our grammarian, (q) "in the fierce attacks, which, without

ing; and sold by the booksellers there, and at Glasgow, 1748; 8vo, pp. 175.

5. "The Doctrine of the Jure-divino-ship of Hereditary Indefeasible Monarchy enquired into, and exploded, in a Letter to Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, principal keeper of the Lawyers Library in Edinburgh, from Mr. George Logan, one of the ministers of Edinburgh." Edinburgh: printed by Thomas Lumisden and Co.; and sold by the booksellers in town and country, 1749, 8vo, pp. 114.

6. "A second Letter from Mr. George Logan, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, to Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, principal keeper of the Lawyers Library there. Vindicating the celebrated Mr. Alexander Henderson, minister at Edinburgh, and rector of the college, who had been moderator of the famous national assemblies of the Church of Scotland, in the years 1638, 1641, and 1643, and one of the commissioners of this church, to the assembly of divines at Westminster; from the vile aspersions cast upon him by Messieurs Sage and Ruddiman, and other high-flying writers, as guilty of great injuries done by him to King Charles I. and as repenting of his conduct and management in public affairs, from the year 1638, till his death, August 12, 1647. With an Appendix, containing the letters that passed betwixt the King's Majesty and the above Mr. Henderson, at Newcastle, being rare to be had; and the inscriptions on his monument, in the Grayfriars Church Yard." Edinburgh: printed by Thomas Lumisden and Co.; and sold by Messieurs Hamilton and Balfour, and other booksellers there, and at Glasgow, 1749, 8vo, pp. 173.

(q) In his *Animadversions on Love's Vindication* of Buchanan, p. 32.

"provocation,

“ provocation, he has made on me, in no less than
 “ *six pretty large treatises*, has laid aside all regard,
 “ not only to common decency, but to demon-
 “ strative truth, I resolved to give up all further
 “ altercations with him, as they could answer
 “ no end.” Yet, Ruddiman affected to submit
 the whole controversy to such arbitrators, as
 Logan himself should choose, provided they were
 persons of common sense, and common honesty;
 and if they should find our grammarian guilty
 of one inconsistency, however many had been im-
 puted to him, Ruddiman was content to be
 deemed a person of no character, and what was
 the worst, which could be imputed to him, that
 as a writer, he was less to be credited, than
 Logan.

In this sarcastic tone, did Ruddiman close the
 controversy, which, as it had begun, without ade-
 quate cause, may be said to have closed, with last-
 ing discredit to his antagonist, who persevered in
 disputation, though he neither gave pleasure to
 his friends, nor furnished edification to the world.
 George Logan died, at Edinburgh, in the seventy-
 seventh year of his age, on the 13th of October
 1755. (r) To the character of Logan, which
 may be collected from the foregoing review of
 his contest with Ruddiman, I am able to add from
 the information of the late Sir David Dalrymple,

(r) Scots Mag. 1755. p. 461.

“ that

“ that if Mr. Logan ever was posselt of abilities,
 “ he had lost them, before he engaged in the
 “ dispute with Ruddiman. I have read,” conti-
 nued Sir David, “ a manuscript work, which
 “ Mr. Logan shewed me, concerning Gowrie’s
 “ conspiracy: it gave me a very mean opinion,
 “ indeed, of his critical talents.” It was plainly
 the dishonest purpose of Logan to vindicate the
 fictions, and to propagate the falsehoods, of fac-
 tion, which had contaminated the Scottish an-
 nals, from the epoch of party to his own day. But,
 we have lived to see, that such fictions can be no
 longer vindicated, and that such falsehoods can be
 no more safely spread. Political prudence now re-
 quires, that forgeries should be silently relinquish-
 ed, fictions quietly suppressed, and falsehoods ho-
 nestly contemned. Happy for his own fame, had
 Logan practically regarded the poetical precept:

“ He acts the third crime, that defends the first.”

But, the labours of Ruddiman did not end,
 when the pen dropt from the enfeebled hand of
 Logan. John Love, his former friend, was in-
 duced, by honest zeal, I believe, to publish, in
 May 1749, *A Vindication of Mr. George Bucka-*
nan. (s) Love now endeavoured, with more
 acuteness, than efficacy, to vindicate Buchanan,
 in part *the first*, “ from the vile aspersion cast on

(s) It was printed at Edinburgh, by Thomas Lumisden
 and Co. 1749, 8vo, pp. 93.

“ him

“ him by Camden, that he repented, when
 “ dying, of what he wrote against Mary, Queen
 “ of Scots, which falsehood has been since re-
 “ tailed by Messrs. Sage, and Ruddiman;” and,
 in part *the second*, “ from the horrible ingratitude,
 “ he is charged with to Queen Mary, in extol-
 “ ling her so high, in the dedication of his Psalms,
 “ and thereafter writing so bitterly against her,
 “ in the Detection, and History.”

In this manner, was Ruddiman assaulted, at once, in his character, as a man, and in his prejudices, as a politician. After the numberless treatises, which had been published against him, during several years, he little expected a premeditated attack from an ancient ally. And, he thought himself obliged to rise up, in his own defence, at the age of seventy-five; as it “ gave
 “ him an opportunity to clear up some matters
 “ of fact, relating to our history, which this au-
 “ thor had very much misrepresented.” Ruddiman was, by these *means*, again forced out into warfare, in July 1749, with his *Animadversions on a late Pamphlet*, entitled, *A Vindication of Mr. George Buchanan.* (1)

In this contest, between Ruddiman and Love, appear the unnatural diversities of civil war. In it, we see two vindicators of Buchanan, who had each written his *Vindication*, though upon very

(1) It was printed at Edinburgh, by T. and W. Ruddimans, 1749, 8vo, pp. 110.

diffimilar principles, engaged in vigorous hostility. Love opened his performance with a lofty encomium on Buchanan, as if his extraordinary genius, as a poet, and excellent talents, as a scholar, which his enemies never denied him, were sufficient to atone for his manifold defects, as a man. Partly from political prejudice, but chiefly from over-weening conceit of his darling author, Love considered him as absolutely perfect, and expressed his indignation, that Buchanan should have been accused of the minuteft fault, far less of repentance for political fins, or of ingratitude for royal favours. On the other hand, Ruddiman justified that part of Buchanan's character, in which he thought him injured; but, as a lover of truth, blamed him for those faults, which merited blame. Ruddiman vindicated Buchanan, as an admirable poet, and as an excellent writer; yet, condemned him, as an historian, who threw out reproaches against his sovereign, and benefactress, instead of recording truth, and of teaching morals.

With regard to the repentance of Buchanan, a dispute arose, soon after his death, among the learned, which was, in 1749, revived by Love; and which has continued to interest inquisitive men, even to the present day. (u) Without

(u) In Mr. Whitaker's *Vindication of Queen Mary*, vol. 3. p. 441-50, there is a most able argument to prove *the repentance of Buchanan*. But, the most powerful argument must give way before opposing facts.

considering minutely the arguments of the several disputants, we may form a conclusion sufficiently accurate, by attending to the evidence of facts, rather than to the suggestions of system.

Camden recorded, in his Annals, with his usual circumspection, as a circumstance, which *he had heard* and believed, that Buchanan, on his death-bed, had expressed his remorse, and avowed his repentance, for his injurious treatment of Queen Mary. On the other hand, James Melvil, the professor of theology, at St. Andrew's, who visited Buchanan, during the month, in which he died, wrote, in his Diary, Buchanan's defiance of King James, rather than repentance for the wrongs, that he had done to Queen Mary. (x) If it were a question, which of the two witnesses ought to be believed, it could admit of little doubt, that Camden is entitled to most credit; because he had more judgment, and less prejudice, than Melvil. But, Camden only recorded what he had heard from others. Melvil wrote what he had heard himself. It was this consideration, which induced the good sense of Ruddiman, after he had reviewed his own preconceptions, and weighed all circumstances, to acknowledge, "that if what
" Melvil says of Buchanan, in less than a month
" before his death, be true, he seems never to

(x) Man's Animad. on Ruddiman, p. 53.

“ have repented of what he wrote against Queen
“ Mary all his life.” (y)

In support of Camden, was published, in 1709, a letter of the late Bishop Sage; giving an account of Lady Rosyth's declaration, with respect to what David Buchanan had repeated, of his being an ear-witness of George Buchanan's confession. (z) This evidence, then, amounts only to what Sage had heard an old woman say of what an old man had told her. Nor, is this disputable testimony, which supplied Love with ridicule, strengthened by the story, which has often been repeated, of a conversation between King James and Buchanan, when near his end, on a subject, that had been interesting to both. This tale, which, like other stories of the King and Buchanan, is in itself improbable, is rather contradicted, than confirmed, by collateral evidence. King James, who was then only sixteen years of age, had conversed little with Buchanan, since the year 1579, when he left the court: and prior to Buchanan's death, on the 28th of September 1582, the King had been made captive, on the 22d of the preceding month, by the Earl of Gowrie, who acted upon the maxims of Buchanan's *De jure*, when he seized his sovereign. In the traiterous power of Gowrie, King James con-

(y) Anticrisis, 1754, p. 18.

(z) Sage's Life, p. 70.

tinued

tinued till the hand of death had for ever sealed the lips of Buchanan.

Were we to inquire, what it is, that forces conviction on the mind of man, either by raising probabilities, or by repelling them, we should find, that the proofs, which have been brought of Buchanan's repentance, are insufficient to overturn the contrary presumption, arising from his character through life, and his conduct at his decease. Buchanan, like other liars, who, by the repetition of falsehood, are induced to consider the fiction as truth, had so often dwelt with complacency on the forgeries of his "*Detection*," and the figments of his "*History*," that he at length regarded his fictions, and his forgeries, as most authentic facts. This conclusion is confirmed, by the tenour of his conversation with Melvil, while our poet and historian *was going the way of well-fare*. (a) From this deduction, it is more than probable,

(a) James Man's *Censure* of Ruddiman, p. 53. In September 1582, Andrew Melvil, the principal of the New College, at St. Andrew's, Thomas Buchanan, the provost of Kirkaldy, and James Melvil, the professor of theology, at St. Andrew's, hearing that George Buchanan was *weak*, went to Edinburgh, in order to visit him. They found, the aged scholar teaching his servant the A, B, C. He said, he had better do this, than steal, or be idle. He shewed them the dedication of his *History* to the King. Andrew Melvil objected, *That it was obscure*. He replied, That he could do no more, for thinking of another matter—to die. But, he would leave that and many more things for him to help. The visitors went from

probable, that Buchanan, at the hour of his death, was hardened in error, confident in falshood, and adverse from repentance.

The result of the inquiry, with regard to this first head of the Vindication, seems to be rather favourable to Love, whose political zeal did not, however, enable him to place it in the most advantageous light. Ruddiman affected to retract his former opinion of Buchanan's repentance. "But, "alas!" said he, "what will his admirers gain "by this concession? only, that they make him "die an impenitent sinner; and rather than his "reputation, or their own cause, should suffer, "in this world, they choose (*horresco referens!*) "to let him drop into the next:"

No reckoning made, but sent to his account,
With all his imperfections on his head.

By

Buchanan to the house of Arbuthnot, who was then printing *his history*. The printer had advanced to the end of the 17th book, which treats of the assassination of Rizzio. Returning to Buchanan, they found him in bed; *even going the way of well-fare*. His cousin shewed him *the hardness of that part of the story*; that the King would be offended at it, and this might stay the work. *Tell me*, said Buchanan, *if I have told the truth?* *Yes*; said his cousin, *I think so*: Then, quoth Buchanan, *I will bide his fead and all his kin's*. [James Melvil's Diary in Man's Animad. on Ruddiman, p. 51-53.] See Ruddiman's Glossary to Douglas's Virgil, for the word *fead*. "Feid, fede, feyde; feud, hatred, quarrel: ab Ang. Sax. "Faeth, Belg. Weede, factio, inimicitia, simultas, odium; "Teut. *Féhd*, bellum, Skinner." This was, no doubt, bravely said by Buchanan, while the young King was in the hands of rebels.

By taking this wide range of inquiry, we are conducted naturally to the *second head*; with respect to *Buchanan's ingratitude*. Every step, which his vindicator now takes, is opposed by some difficulty; and, the farther he advances, the more effectually is he obstructed, by the authentic facts, that Ruddiman continually throws in his way. Ruddiman mentions with satisfaction, that from his own writings, his antagonist could not produce a single passage, in which the word *ingrate*, or *ingratitude*, is to be found, as applied to Buchanan. He had, indeed, mentioned favours, which Queen Mary had conferred on Buchanan; and for which, if he made unworthy returns, the consequence was apparent, without the suggestion of criticism, that the person obliged had made an ungrateful return.

Experience had convinced the judgment of Ruddiman, how impolitic it was, when engaged in a contest of captiousness, to dwell on doubtful topicks. After mentioning various favours, which Queen Mary had conferred on Buchanan, while he was poor, and friendless, he produced from the records, for the first time, (*b*) Queen Mary's grant, which was dated the 9th of October 1564, of a pension for life, of five hundred pounds,

(*b*) The *Letter of Privy-Seal* is printed, in the Appendix to Ruddiman's *Animadversions*, No. 1. My industrious friend, William Robertson of the Register-House, at Edinburgh, lately found, in the *Privy-Seal Record*, the same grant of an annual pension to Buchanan.

Scots, to Buchanan. If, to make a needy poet independent, be an obligation, Mary had, by this gift, conferred such a favour on Buchanan, as required, if not active remuneration, at least, quiescent thankfulness. With that incontrovertible document, Ruddiman closed his proof. And, with two-edged irony remarked: “ I see
 “ no other way left to his vindicator, for clear-
 “ ing Buchanan from the blot of ingratitude, but,
 “ in imitation of his friend Logan, who charges
 “ every charter, which is brought against him,
 “ with imposture, to deny this writ of privy-seal
 “ to be a genuine deed.”

If it were not that, the speculum of bigotry reverses every object, Love had, indeed, seen, in the Collections (c) of Anderson, which he often quotes with approbation, the plainest demonstrations of Buchanan's knavery, and the fullest proof of his ingratitude. Yet, in this mirrour, Love can see none of Mary's favours to Buchanan. But, in it, he perceives, “ That the Latin copy
 “ of the Detection is not Buchanan's, but a trans-
 “ lation from the French; and has nothing of
 “ the elegance of Buchanan's diction, and has
 “ besides many *Gallicisms*.” The prejudice of Love, in disputing what the title page had proved, and the whole world acknowledged, gave his opponent an opportunity of triumph, which he improved with judgment. Where has this Aris-

(c) Vol. 2. p. 1. and 261; and vol. 4. part 2. p. 58-62.

tarchus, said Ruddiman, acquired his wonderful skill, in judging of the purity of Latin performances? So far do I, who pretend to some knowledge, in that matter, differ from this vindicator, that I am fully persuaded, not only, that Buchanan was the author of the *Detection*, but that for purity, and elegance, it is inferior to nothing, which he ever wrote. And, Buchanan, who was the proper judge both of the authorship, and the Latinity, has inserted in his *History* whole passages, word for word, which are to be found in his *Detection*. With the most cutting irony, Ruddiman advised his antagonist, before he assume airs of superiority, to read Henry Stephens's treatise *De Latinitate falso suspecta*, (*d*) wherein this celebrated writer shews, that many phrases, which some have mistaken for undoubted Gallicisms, are to be found, in classic authors. In this manner, did the two grammarians, with true grammatical pertinence, argue the question of *Buchanan's ingratitude*, which, in the sequel, will be more amply discussed.

The disputants diverged incidentally to other topicks, which were not wholly irrelative either to the vindication, or to the guilt of, Buchanan. Love had joined Logan, and the associated critics, as an ally, in their warfare against Ruddiman; and being actuated by their bigotry, conducted hosti-

(*d*) It was printed by Henry Stephens, 1575, 12mo.

lities upon their principles, and fought with their weapons. "After the laudable custom of the party," says Ruddiman, "as Buchanan had railed at the mother, so does this author at her son," by denying the truth of Gowrie's conspiracy against King James, and by turning it into a conspiracy of the King against the Earl of Gowrie.

The concerted treason, which John, the Earl of Gowrie, the son of that Earl of Gowrie, who had seized the King, in 1582, the grandson of that Lord Ruthven, who had assassinated Rizzio, in 1566, perpetrated against King James, on the 5th of August 1600, is one of those remarkable incidents in the Scottish Annals, which, by dividing the parties of Scotland, has furnished a topick of disputation, even to the present hour. A narrative of that conspiracy was immediately published, by the King's authority, if it were not written by the King's hand. The ecclesiastics of Edinburgh not only denied the truth of the plot, but charged it as a conspiracy of the King against the Earl. In November 1600, Gowrie's heirs were summoned before the parliament, in order to oppose the attainder, which was about to pass against their predecessor, who was, on that occasion, accused of treason. The charge was proved, by one-and-thirty witnesses, who, with the Duke of Lenox, at their head, being actors in the tragedy, had seen what they related. From their testimony, it clearly appeared, that Alexander Ruthven, the

the Earl's brother, had by his persuasion, inveigled the King, from his sport at Falkland, to the Earl's castle at Perth, where they attempted to seize his person, whatever might have been their ultimate purpose. On the other hand, no circumstance, either of excuse, or of explanation, was adduced in defence of Gowrie. The parliament found him guilty. But, the kirkmen were not yet convinced. On the one side, there was the most satisfactory evidence of a plot by Gowrie against the King: on the other side, there was not then, nor is there now, any evidence of an attempt by the King against Gowrie. (e)

(e) He, who wishes to form an accurate judgment, with regard to this plot of Gowrie, independent of party prejudices, let him read, not so much *The Historical Account of this Conspiracy, by the Earl of Cromarty, as the Depositions of the Witnesses*, which were printed by his lordship in the words as they were written at the time: add to this, what is said by Arnot, in his *Criminal Trials*, p. 20-60, with great precision of thought, and clearness of language. And, see the APPENDIX, No. 7, two letters, which I found, in the paper-office, on this subject: The 1st is a letter from Nicholson, Queen Elizabeth's ambassador in Scotland, to Sir Robert Cecil, her secretary of state; the second letter is from Lord Willoughby, the Queen's governor of Berwick, to the same minister. These two letters, I submit to the reader, as satisfactory evidence, that *Queen Elizabeth had no concern with Gowrie's plot*, in 1600, whatever she may have had with Gowrie's treason, in 1582. And, these two letters, which are at once very curious, and very convincing, completely confute the general inference, which the late historiographer Dr. Robertson endeavoured to inculcate, from very dubious circumstances, with more subtilty than decisiveness.

An

An event occurred, in 1608, which more clearly evinced the premeditated treason of the earl against the king, though this truth had been satisfactorily proved to all, who were capable of argument, eight years before. One Sprot, a notary, discovered, in an evil hour for his own safety, that he had known, though he had not revealed, the part, which Logan of Restalrig had acted, in this unaccountable plot. Sprot honestly told all that he knew, disclosed Logan's epistolary correspondence with Gowrie, which he had long concealed: and being found guilty of misprision, he was executed for the crime. The son of Logan was summoned to defend the innocence of his father. The authenticity of the letters, which, it had been the purpose of the writer to destroy, because they might have endangered his life, was now established by intelligent witnesses. And those letters, which had been so wonderfully found, and so clearly authenticated, proved a conspiracy on the part of Gowrie, and a concert on the side of Logan. For the information of the world, the examinations, arraignment, and conviction of Sprot, with the letters of Logan, were published, in 1609, (f) by Abbot, the Dean of Winchester, who rose to be Archbishop of Canterbury.

Yet, neither the sectaries, in the kirk, nor the

(f) This tract was printed, at London, by Melch. Bradwood, for William Apsey, 4to. pp. 60.

fanatics,

fanatics, in the state, were convinced of the truth of Gowrie's conspiracy! At the end of a century of disbelief, and disputation, the Earl of Cromarty published, in 1713, from the records of which he was the keeper, "An Historical Account of the Conspiracies by the Earls of Gowrie and Robert Logan of Restalrig, against King James VI.;" to which he appended the depositions and letters, *in the words as they were then written and spoke*. This publication, however, did not produce conviction, at least did not obtain acquiescence. And, the Earl of Cromarty printed, in 1714, *A Vindication of his Historical Account*, without bringing to shame the absurdity of faction, or making much impression on the obstinacy of zeal. George Logan, while he was in the habit of contradicting records, and controverting facts, wrote, as we may remember, a dissertation to disprove Gowrie's conspiracy. And Love, while he was busy, in vindicating Buchanan from the charge of ingratitude to Queen Mary, came forward with disreputable confidence, "to turn that mysterious plot into a conspiracy of King James against the Earl of Gowrie."

Ruddiman closed the controversy by saying, what was repeated by Arnot, (g) with greater force, that if the Earl of Gowrie were not

(g) Criminal Trials, p. 60.

proved

proved to be guilty, by the evidence, which the Earl of Cromarty had published, and which is all the proof that such a fact admits, we can hardly be sure, that such an earl ever existed.

In reviewing the contests, (*b*) between Ruddiman

(*b*) The reader, who is curious to see Ruddiman's private opinion with regard to his antagonists, and the subjects in debate, may be gratified by the following extract of a letter from our grammarian to the Right Reverend Bishop Falconer, dated the 17th of October 1751:—

“ I am very much obliged to you, good sir, for the favourable opinion you shew of the treatises, I have been obliged to write, in defence of that side of the controverſie, I have been engaged in. In the first of them, I had the good luck to have to do with an antagonist, that knew nothing of the matter, he was about; and who discovers all along such a gross ignorance, and absurd reasoning, that are hardly to be met with, in any other author; which, though it swelled my book to too large a size, yet made my task otherwise very easy, though at the same time it procured me no small obloquy and reproach from the bigots of the party, who have attacked me from several quarters on that account.

“ The second, though of a small size, cost me more pains: it concerns the dispute between the Bruce and Baliol; and though I say it, I think I have put that matter in a clearer light than any has done before me; at least, I have demonstrated, that no argument can be formed from it against the hereditary succession of our kings, and for establishing the breach made upon it at the late revolution. My third piece, which I know not if you have seen, concerned Buchanan's repentance for the injuries he had done our Queen Mary, in his History and Detection, and his ingratitude to that princess for the favours he had received

diman and his antagonists, which, as they have contributed to establish the truth, can hardly be regretted, there appears this remarkable diversity.—Our grammarian is diligent to produce documents, to adjust dates, and to ascertain facts, that historians have often appropriated, as their own, without acknowledging obligations to their diligent precursor. (*i*) The opponents of Ruddiman, whether from ignorance of the nature of evidence, or from incapacity to distinguish the

“ceived from her. I had wrote nothing directly of the
 “one, or the other, and they were my adversaries, and not
 “I, who brought that matter on the carpet; nor would I
 “have concerned myself, in the affair, had I not from that
 “taken occasion, to bring some singular proofs, and documents, for vindicating our Queen Mary, from the vile reproaches, thrown upon her by that rebellious faction, who
 “dethroned her, as also of Buchanan’s monstrous ingratitude
 “to her.”

(*i*) It was Ruddiman (for example), who first ascertained the date of the demise of David II. to have been on the 22d of February 1370-71, which had been egregiously mistaken by historians. See Ruddiman’s accurate note on Sage’s Introduction to Drummond’s Works, p. 36-7. Goodal had the judgment to adopt this date into his note. Goodal’s Fordun, vol. 2. p. 380. Sir David Dalrymple referred, in his Annals, vol. 2. p. 265, to Fordun, for the true date of that demise. Subsequent writers have referred to Sir David’s Annals for the fact. Yet, all this while, Ruddiman was entitled to the merit of being the first discoverer. To Ruddiman, history owes many obligations of a similar kind, without the virtue to acknowledge what she was indebted to his acuteness, and his industry.

beauties

beauties of truth, from the deformities of falsehood, are only active, in decrying petty faults, or in detracting from their antagonist's principles, without searching the archives, wherein facts had been found, or looking steadily on the antiquities of their country, which had given them new views of their subject.

It was the opinion, however, of the late Lord Auchinleck, (*k*) "that Ruddiman did not understand the subjects of Scottish history, on which he wrote; but that Logan understood them still less;" saying, in his jocular manner, "that their contest was a battle in the dark." (*l*) But, of such loose declarations, there is no end, and little use! If Ruddiman did not understand the history of Scotland, who did? He certainly sought for historical knowledge, at the fountain head of charters, and of coins. They, however, who wish to form a judgment of him, as an historian, not from their own prejudices, so much as from his labours, will plainly see, that he cultivated successfully the garden of Scottish history; though it must be allowed, that, after all his efforts, many weeds remain, which are unseemly to the sight, and ungrateful to the smell.

(*k*) He was appointed a lord of session, the 15th of Feb. 1754. [Lord Hailes's Catalogue, p. 17.]

(*l*) The late Lord Hailes's unpublished letter to Lord Gardenstone, dated the 14th of April 1790, which is in my possession.

While engaged in the contests, which harassed his declining years, Ruddiman lived to see his opponents successively drop into the grave. Love died, on the 20th September 1750, at the premature age of fifty-five. (n) Love was certainly an eminent scholar, an excellent teacher, and a good man. But, he had allowed prejudice to ferment in his mind, till it soured into bigotry. And he was excited by ill-humour, which was inflamed by his usual associates, to sacrifice his old friendship with Ruddiman to a foolish zeal for the character of Buchanan, as a man, which cannot be defended, rather than his fame, as a writer, which, had it required defence, Ruddiman had already vindicated, with greater effort, and superior learning.

Neither domestic misfortunes, however, nor political altercations, prevented Ruddiman from giving his friendly assistance, in the mean time, to the literary inquiries of others. His regard

(n) In the *Caledonian Mercury* of the 24th of September 1750, Ruddiman had the liberality to publish the following character of Love, his antagonist:—" On Thursday morning died, at Dalkeith, after a lingering illness, in the 55th year of his age, Mr. John Love, Rector of the Grammar School, there; who for his uncommon knowledge, in classical learning, his indefatigable diligence, and strictness of discipline, without severity, was justly accounted one of the most sufficient masters in this country." This character was admired by all, who saw in it the placability of Ruddiman, with regard to the scholar, who had first been his friend, yet, afterwards became his adversary.

for the art of printing, and his attachment to the interests of letters, induced him to give assiduous help to the typographical researches of the late Joseph Ames, who had the diligence, and modesty, of Ruddiman, without his erudition, or judgment. When the *Typographical Antiquities* were at length published, in 1749, Ames gratefully (o) recorded the obligations, that he owed “to his worthy friend, Mr. *Professor* Ruddiman, “who was no small encourager of this undertaking, by his many searches for me, at Edinburgh, and elsewhere.” Though the searches of Ruddiman did not find all, that the records contained, with regard to the origin of printing, in Scotland, yet he merits commendation for his useful contributions to that curious work.

Ruddiman deserves the greater praise, as his eyes had been extremely injured by those researches. In October 1751, at the age of seventy-seven, he was obliged to ask the aid of physicians for preserving his sight, which, however, they did not effect. Yet, this misfortune, that to a scholar cannot easily be supplied, did not prevent him from doing kind acts to his relations, and continuing his correspondence with

(o) In p. 574. In the same page, he again mentions the useful assistance of his “good friend Mr. Thomas Ruddiman.” This ascertains the identity of the person, to whom he was obliged, and shows, that Ames was only mistaken in calling his friend *Professor* Ruddiman, who never was a *professor*.

his friends; from pursuing his studies, and producing, meantime, his edition of Livy, (p) which, Harwood declares, is one of the most accurate that ever was published. Glasgow had to boast of the *spotless perfection* of her Horace, in 1744. Edinburgh had reason, said that able critic, to triumph in the *immaculate purity* of Ruddiman's Livy, in 1751.

The deprivation of sight brought with it other losses, besides the retardation of his usual labours, and the hindrance of his accustomed walks. Ruddiman had a spirit, too conscientious, and too independent, to hold an office, which he could no longer execute. And, on the 7th of January 1752, he gave in a resignation to the Faculty of Advocates of his charge as their librarian, which he had diligently executed for almost half a century. His letter of resignation, he wrote in English, expressing his gratitude for their many favours, and offering his prayers for their future honours. When the late Dr. Johnson was told, in what language our grammarian had relinquished his trust, and expressed his thankfulness, he said, *That such a letter, from such a scholar,*

(p) In 4 vol. 12mo. Edinb. 1751. Of the small editions of Livy, Harwood speaks of this, as the best; as, of the large editions, he equally recommends Drakenborch's, in 7 vols. 4to. Amstel. 1738.

ought to have been in Latin. (q) Yet, of Ruddiman, Johnson declared, That his learning is not his highest

(q) Ruddiman's letter, which was honoured by Johnson's disapprobation, the curious reader will find subjoined :

To the Honourable the Dean and Faculty of Advocates :

The humble Address and Representation of Mr.
Thomas Ruddiman, Keeper of their Library.

My much-honoured patrons and masters : Having now entered the seventy-eighth year of my life, near fifty years of which space have been spent in the service of keeping your library, and finding, that by the infirmities that accompany so advanced an age, and especially by the great decay of my sight, I am become altogether unable to execute that office any longer, I have, as in justice I ought, determined with myself to give it over ; and therefore, do hereby make a surrender and resignation of it, into those hands from whom I received it. In the mean time, your honours will allow me to express the double satisfaction I receive from a review of my past labours ; that as on the one hand I am conscious to myself, that by God's assistance, and as far as human frailty would permit, I have made it my constant endeavour to discharge that office with that care and fidelity, which so valuable a trust required ; so on the other hand, and on your part, I have met with all the good-will, encouragement, and approbation, that I could reasonably expect, or wish for. But tho' I can be no longer serviceable to the Honourable Faculty in that my former capacity, yet there is one duty still in my power, and which can never be dispensed with, and that is, that from the deep and most grateful sense which I shall always retain of your great and manifold favours, I should earnestly pray to Almighty God for the honour, prosperity, and flourishing state of your most learned and useful society, that ye may continue a great ornament to those high courts,

highest excellence; and sent him, as a mark of his kindness, a copy of *The Rambler*, when it was re-published, at Edinburgh, by Mr. Elphinston. (r) Ruddiman had, however, outlived his vanities; and the lawyers of Scotland were not to learn, that their librarian could write Tully's language, with Tully's purity. Goodal, who had been, for thirty years, the assistant of Ruddiman, was now overlooked, in the choice of a successor. The Advocates had probably remarked, what Sir David Dalrymple had often seen, *that Walter was seldom sober*. And, on the 28th of January, 1752, was appointed, in our grammarian's place, at a salary of forty pounds a year, Mr. David Hume, who had distinguished himself by his *Treatise on*

courts, of which you are members, and that in them, and every where else, ye may shine forth with that splendour and dignity, that unblemished character for justice and probity, and the faithful discharge of all those duties your honourable profession has laid upon you, for which you are so remarkable, and which the superior name and rank you bear in the world, give your country just ground to expect and demand of you. This is the last and best testimony and assurance, I can give of my most sincere gratitude, warm affection, and high regard to the honourable Faculty;—and that I am now, and always, my much-honoured patrons and masters, your most obliged, most humble, and most dutiful servant,

Dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos regit artus.

T. RUDDIMAN.

(r) Mr. Boswell's Life, vol. i. p. 187.

Human Nature, and by his *Essays, Moral and Political*. (s)

Ruddiman soon gave a fine specimen of his knowledge of the Latin language, as it was written, and spoken, both before and after Tully's time. It was Mr. John Garden of Brechin, who, in January 1752, engaged our grammarian in the task, of giving his sentiments, as to the manner, in which the Romans pronounced their own speech, when it was in its greatest purity. Ruddiman executed this work, with the alacrity of youth, and the knowledge of age, (t) though he knew, that the most learned could hardly afford a satisfactory solution of so difficult a question.

Ruddiman concurred with the learned Scippius in thinking, that were Cicero alive, and to converse with the most skilful in his tongue, he would neither understand them, nor they him. As ages have elapsed, since the Latin language was vulgarly spoken, the sense of hearing, can no longer give any aid to the efforts of intellect. And hence, certainty must give place to conjecture, which is to be regarded only, as it is conceived with most sagacity, or supported with greatest strength.

(s) Scots Mag. 1752, p. 54.

(t) In his letter to Mr. James Garden, dated 22d of February 1752, which, however valuable, still remains in manuscript.

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The erudition of Ruddiman enabled him to trace the progress of the Roman syllabication, which, like the Roman power, had its rude beginning, its meridian splendour, and its final decay. He shows, that the ancient mode of writing, when instead of *Jus*, *Judex*, and *Jure*, the Romans wrote *Jous*, *Joudex*, and *Joure*, was not wholly laid aside, at the late period of the Augustan age. From the style of their orthography, at different periods of their literature, he was enabled to deduce inferences, with regard to the mode of their pronunciation, which was never uniform, but always changeful.

After much curious disquisition, our investigator, came at last to the great object of Garden's letter, which was to restore the pronunciation of the Latin language to the standard of the ancient Romans. Ruddiman admitted the importance of Garden's proposal, if a standard could be found; if difficulties could be conquered; if the project were attainable. And, with his usual judgment, he concluded his elaborate dissertation, on this interesting subject, by remarking, that if the Latin tongue be written with Roman accuracy, Roman pronunciation may be left, without much inconvenience, to find its own fashion, in the learned world.

Ruddiman had scarcely closed his friendly correspondence with James Garden, on the orthoepy of the Latin, when he was drawn from his fa-

vourite studies into an acrimonious contest by James Man, concerning his edition of *Buchanan's Works*, which had been published eight-and-thirty years before.

James Man, who will be remembered only, as he was the antagonist of Ruddiman, was born at Whitewreath, in the parish of Elgin, and shire of Murray. He was the son of John Man, a small farmer of *ten bolls rent*, who, having lost three of his fingers by an accident, and being thereby made unfit for labour, relinquished his farm, and became a *gentle beggar*. He was chiefly enabled by this vocation, to educate his son, first at the parish school of Longbride, and afterwards at the King's College, Aberdeen.

James Man first came out into life, in the humble station of *precentor*, or parish-clerk, of Longbride, in the neighbourhood of Elgin. He went thence to the King's College, where he studied physics and metaphysics, in the years 1719, 1720, and 1721, under professor Alexander Burnet. (u) James Man had from nature a vigorous intellect, and a peevish temper, with a small stature, and a mean look; from habit, application, and from study, learning. Soon after he left

(u) James Man did not study in the Greek class, but entered the second year of the course, and obtained his Master of Arts degree, on the 15th of April 1721. Professor Thomas Gordon was so obliging as to ascertain these facts for me, from the college records.

the

the college, he was, with these accomplishments, and failings, appointed schoolmaster of the parish of Touch, in the shire of Aberdeen. He at length was ordained a preacher, without being able to obtain a church. He, however, assisted superannuated ministers, and disgusted his auditors, by tedious sermons, which he delivered with cold declamation, and uncouth utterance. He was, in the end, admitted the master of the poor's hospital, in the city of Aberdeen, on the 11th of December 1742.

It was, in this station, that a maniac desire of polemical authorship came upon him. Ruddiman kindly assisted his studies, by lending him manuscripts. Yet, his temper, his prejudices, and his politics, made him one of the *associated critics* of Edinburgh. Buchanan became of course the Dagon of his worship, and Ruddiman the Demon of his hate. He determined to give an edition of Buchanan's history, which the *associated critics* had often promised, yet never had performed. But, Man thought it necessary to show, in the mean time, that former editions were faulty; that "a vast number of passages of Buchanan's writings had been foully corrupted, miserably defaced, and grossly perverted," by Ruddiman. Here, then, is the source of James Man's *Censure and Examination of Mr. Thomas Ruddiman's philological Notes, on the Works of the great*

great Buchanan, more particularly on the History of Scotland. (x)

When this *Censure* appeared, in March 1753, at the end of eight-and-thirty years, Ruddiman said, that it was, *opus triginta virorum, et triginta annorum*, with an allusion to the *associated critics*, and their tardy performance of thirty-year's promises. Man had undoubtedly the help of Love's literature, and of Logan's zeal. (y) He also re-

(x) This huge octavo, of 574 pages, was printed at Aberdeen, 1753, for the author, and sold by John and George Paton, at Buchanan's head, in the Parliament-Close, Edinburgh.

(y) My worthy friend, the Rev. David Love, the Vicar of Fingringhoe, has assured me, "That his father wrote some
" of the critical parts of *Man's Censure* of Ruddiman. In
" the summer of 1750, when his health was much on the
" decline, I used to write such sort of things from his dic-
" tation; many of which I remembered, when I read Man's
" book in 1753; and even now, after the elapse of so many
" years, I recollect the remarks I wrote, in this way, on the
" numeral adjective *alius*, which you will find at p. 386 of
" *Man's Censure*. But how much, or what parts, are my fa-
" ther's composition, it is impossible for me to say. A boy
" of thirteen was too young to be intrusted with communi-
" cations of that sort. I only hope, that no part of the abuse,
" which pollutes almost every page of Man's book, dropt
" from his pen. After his death, all my father's papers, of
" this kind, were put into the hands of Logan, who sent
" them to Man, together with my father's [copy of Ruddi-
" man's] edition of Buchanan's works, in which he had
" wrote a copy of Ruddiman's manuscript answers to Bur-
" man's animadversions upon some of Ruddiman's notes on
" Buchanan's works, which fill nineteen folio pages. Man
" returned Buchanan's works, but kept the papers."

ceived

ceived occasional assistance from the other zealots, who, having weak heads, and narrow hearts, considered Buchanan, incomparable, as a scholar, and immaculate, as a man.

Urged, by such associates, and animated, by such aid, Man produced his *Censure*, in which he endeavoured to prove, in his own vulgarity of style, that Ruddiman was a *finished pedant*, and a *furious calumniator*. But, with jaundiced eyes, Man could not distinguish mistake from calumny, criticism from pedantry, nor desire of amendment from purpose of corruption.

Under the influence of such distempers, both of mind and body, Man proceeded from his *introduction*, to investigate in chapter the 1st, “When Buchanan began to write, and when he ended, his history,” though the success of the critic be not equal to the efforts of the zealot. He undertook, in chapter the 2d, the yet greater labour of establishing the purity of Buchanan’s morals, with the courage indeed of Hercules, but certainly without his success. Man attempted, in chapter the 3d, the still harder task of converting the errors of typography into the graces of correctness. In the progress of his critical follies, he tried to rival Aristarchus, in the captiousness of his spirit, but not in the depth of his learning; by insisting, through the subsequent chapters, that Ruddiman was ignorant *of the use, and meaning*, of nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs,

verbs, participles, adverbs, prepositions, and conjunctions. Yet, have learned men continued to regard Ruddiman, as the great grammarian of his time, notwithstanding the clamours of Logan, the animadversions of Love, and the censures of Man. The late Doctor Johnson, when finding fault with Mr. Boswell's Latinity, exclaimed, "Ruddiman is dead!"

When the *Censure* of Man fell into the hands of the contemporary *reviewers*, they shewed themselves to be true-born Englishmen, by siding with the weaker party. They condemned his vulgarity, indeed, but they did not repress his audacity, nor explode his ignorance. And, they finally declared that, in some of the rounds of this *bellum grammaticale*, Man had the *best of the battle*.

When Ruddiman was attacked, as we have seen, by Man, with rudeness of manner, and malevolence of purpose, he had advanced to the eightieth year of his age. He was almost blind. And, he was of course obliged "to employ the eyes, the ears, and the pens of others," in making his defence. (z) Yet, though he had expected to spend in quiet the small remainder of a protracted life, he was not discouraged by ap-

(z) The Rev. John Walker of Watlington, in Norfolk, has informed me, that Ruddiman had the use of *his* eyes, ears, and pen; having been Ruddiman's amanuensis from 1752 to 1755, inclusive.

prehenfions of conteft, nor frightened by the numeroſity of his foes. He determined, with a magnanimous ſpirit, to make his various enemies feel the rebound of their own envenomed ſhafts. And, ſummoning the vigour of his youth with the experience of his age, he ſent out, in January 1754, *Anticriſis*, (a) or a *Diſcuſſion of the ſcurrilous and malicious Libel, publiſhed by one James Man, of Aberdeen.*

In this warfare, Ruddiman was engaged, by a regard for character, and by a love of truth. He now vindicates his edition of Buchanan's works, as incomparably more perfect, than any that went before it; and, without departing from his uſual modeſty, he might have added, or that have ſince followed it. He ſhows, by his acutenefs, and his ſtrength, that though he had entered his eightieth year, he was not that *dreamer*, that *dotard*, which Man, with peculiar ſaucineſs, had repreſented him. He is anxious to remove the pretence, which was common with his antagoniſts, that their treatiſes were unanswerable, ſo long as they had not been answered. But, his chief anxiety is about his Latinity. It was indeed to be expected, that he, who from his earlieſt youth, had applied himſelf, in a particular manner, to the ſtudy of the Latin language, had

(a) It is an 8vo. pamphlet of 226 pages, and was printed, at Edinburgh, by Thomas and Walter Ruddimans, 1754.

published elaborate works, on that subject, for the instruction of others, and was now represented, in every page of *Man's Censure*, as a *mere ignoramus*, should be concerned for his fame as, a scholar.

Such were Ruddiman's motives for publishing his *Anticripsis*. When he came to close animadversion, he pursued Man through the series of his insidious chapters. Had Ruddiman's power of disquisition been less vigorous, his candour in acknowledging petty errors, must have gained him the applause of criticism. By directing his answers to the point of the objection, he brings every question to a decisive issue. He, in this mode, rectifies many facts, which had been misstated by ignorance, or perverted by design. He shews what improvements he had made in Buchanan's text, and by what helps these improvements had been gained. And, pleading for the indulgence, which is ever paid to age, he evinces, by the precision of his memory, the extent of his erudition, and the maturity of his judgment, that he might set fair critics at defiance.

After complaining of the wrong, which had been done him by Love, whom he had deemed his friend, in communicating his manuscript notes, on Burman's edition of Buchanan, to Man, his enemy, our venerable grammarian resumed his habitual temper. With good-humour, he at length settled the controversy, between himself
and

and Man, in the mercantile form of debtor and creditor. The total charge of Man against Ruddiman amounts to twenty errors, which are all that the hypercritic can, with any reason, impute to the editor, in two folio volumes. Yet, it is to be observed, that the first, second, and third, had been formerly objected by Love. (*b*) The fourth, and fifth, had been observed by Burman. (*c*) The six following are typographical mistakes. (*d*) The twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth, (*e*) are errors, indeed, but of little importance. And all the foregoing instances were found, in the preface, and annotations. In the text, there were said to be five errors, (*f*) of which, the sixteenth, and seventeenth, are controvertible, the eighteenth is uncertain, and the nineteenth is an error of the press. The omission of the words in

(*b*) 1. Proelio for prellaeo; 2. James Stuart, the regent, for James Stuart, the prior; 3. Petrus, for Nicholous, Bourbonius.

(*c*) Joseph Scaliger, as not being his father's eldest son; *Persuafus sum*, as not being good Latin.

(*d*) VI for XI; 31 for 30; 1654 for 1464; 1573 for 1473; 1412 for 1512, 1413-4 for 1513-4.

(*e*) The demise of Henry III. of England as mistaken; Henricus for Ricardus; Northumbria for Agro Eboracensi.

(*f*) *Concilium* for *consilium*; *simul* for *semel*; whether *unum* was right is uncertain; *offeret* for *offerret*. The following words, "*Omnem libidinem solutus, quasi jure permissa in omnes,*" were improperly omitted, in Buchanan's text, p. 302. ch. 9, 10.

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the twentieth charge does not detract from the sense. And this omission, our editor considered as sufficiently compensated by the addition of several words, in other places, and by supplying a whole sentence from the excellent manuscript of Buchanan's history, which is in the college of Edinburgh; (g) and which had been extremely useful, in the revival of Buchanan's text. Such was the fair admission of Ruddiman!

Ruddiman's counter-charge against Man was arranged under the following heads:

- | | | |
|---|---|-----|
| 1. Falsehoods and prevarications | - | 20. |
| 2. Absurdities | - | 69. |
| 3. Passages from classic authors, which were erroneously stated | - | 21. |
| 4. Passages in classical authors, which were misunderstood by Man | - | 10. |
| 5. Passages from classical authors, that do not answer the purpose, for which Man had adduced them | - | 42. |
| 6. Passages in Buchanan, which are misunderstood by Man | - | 5. |
| 7. Words and phrases, in Buchanan, which are not classical Latin, and which are yet defended by Man | - | 11. |

(g) The sentence, which was usefully supplied, was in the following words: *Macdaffus tyrannum fugientem affecutus caput occisi ad suos retulit*; without which sentence, says Ruddiman, it had not been known what became of Macbeth.

8. Typographical errors in Arbuthnot's edition of Buchanan's History, which are defended by Man	-	-	30.
9. Other errors, which had been corrected by the editor, yet are blamed by the critic	-	-	126.
10. The absurd methods, which Man had taken to reconcile Buchanan's chronology	-	-	7.
11. Impertinent digressions, in which the controversy is not concerned	-	-	9.
12. Buchanan's citations from ancient authors, which, having been rectified by the editor, were yet blamed by the critic	-	-	50.
13. The editor absurdly blamed, by the critic, for printing uniformly the proper names of persons, places, &c.	-	-	22.
14. Remarks, and conjectures, by the editor, which were unjustly found fault with, by the critic	-	-	47.
The total counter-charge	-	-	469.
Deduct the charge	-	-	20.
The balance of errors incurred by Man	-	-	449.

In this effectual manner, did our aged grammarian, at the time when he was obliged to use the eyes, and hands, of younger persons, repel the assault of Man, who, with unprovoked profli-

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gacy, laboured to blast his character, as a citizen, and to ruin his reputation, as a scholar.

After James Man had filled more than five hundred and seventy pages, with hypercriticism, on *the parts of speech*, he did not finish all that his malignity had intended. He designed to proceed, when some better opportunity should offer him greater advantages, to animadvert on Ruddiman's *Syntax*, *Prosody*, and *Orthography*; to offer miscellaneous observations on those parts of Buchanan's writings, which follow, in Freebairn's edition, volume 1st, the History, De Jure, and the Detection. But, to whatever cause it was owing; whether he found, in the veteran strength of Ruddiman, stouter resistance, than his confidence had expected; whether his countrymen contemned his design, and despised his coarseness; whether captiousness could find few readers, and impertinence fewer purchasers; it cannot now be known: certain it is, however, that his obstinacy did not openly execute his threats; though his malevolence may have privately wounded the character, at which his envy sickened, and his cowardice trembled.

Ruddiman, in the mean time, relieved the weariness of contest, by the amusements of literature. New books, and unpublished manuscripts, were sometimes recited to him. When a translation of the celebrated speech of Ajax to the Grecian chiefs, in Ovid, was read to him, in
x the

the vulgar dialect of Buchan, he declared it the best, that had ever been made. It was immediately printed by his desire. (*b*) This translation, which was thus approved by the judgment, or the complacency, of Ruddiman, was made by Robert Forbes, a learned hosier of London, but a native of Buchan, who had a happy knack at versification, in the idiom of his country. (*i*) He had a brother, who was the schoolmaster of Foveran, in Aberdeenshire, and who is said to have been, *in suo officio nemini secundus*.

Ruddiman, we may remember, was left in the field of controversy, without an antagonist, in 1754, but, not without offence. The decision, which the *reviewers* had pronounced on *Man's Censure*, gave our grammarian jealous apprehensions for his scholarship. He found some relief,

(*b*) It was printed at Edinburgh in 1754, 8vo, without the printer's name indeed; but it was undoubtedly printed by Ruddiman's nephew, Walter Ruddiman, who supplied the glossary, which may be useful to the lovers of ancient poetry, and helpful to the readers of Scottish history, in the dialect of *other times*.

(*i*) In a *shop bill*, Forbes told the place of his residence, in the following manner:

“ I likewise tell you by this bill,
 “ That I do live upo' Tower-hill,
 “ Hard by the house o' Robie Mill,
 “ Just i' the nuik,
 “ Ye canna' mist when 'ere you will,
 “ The sign's a buik.”

by sending them, in March 1755, his *Anticripsis* with an epistle, explaining his just pretensions, and requesting their fair report. The *reviewers* softened the terms, rather than retracted the matter, of their judgment. From *the chair*, they declared, that *Man had poured out scurrility sufficient to overlay an oyster-wench*, but, upon the whole, he seemed to have the advantage, in several things; (*k*) allowing, however, to Ruddiman, more modesty, more learning, and more politeness. Yet, our scholiast, who knew little of the artifice of professed criticism, did not see the equity of this decision. He did not understand the policy of leaving the critics to flutter in their own importance, to presume upon their anonymous invisibility, and to decide from their oracular tribunal. And, he published, therefore, in January 1756, *Audi Alteram Partem*; or a further Vindication of Mr. Thomas Ruddiman's edition of the great Buchanan's Works. (*l*)

Our grammarian seemed to gather strength from his years. His *further Vindication* (*m*) is a more

(*k*) That is, in *twenty things*, out of more than *four hundred and sixty-nine things*.

(*l*) This is an 8vo. pamphlet of 62 pages, which was printed at Edinburgh, in 1756, by T. and W. Ruddimans.

(*m*) Mr. Preston, who is known by his treatise on *Free Masonry*, informed me, that being Mr. Ruddiman's amanuensis, at the period of his decease, and for some time before, he wrote the *Audi Alteram Partem* from Ruddiman's dictation,

more impressive treatise, than his *Anticrisis*. It did not, however, goad James Man into a reply, nor urge the *reviewers* into altercation. Ruddiman probably allayed his own irritation, by giving vent to his griefs; and promoted his own quiet, by *closing accounts* with his antagonists, at the advanced age of eighty-two.

But, the *Audi Alteram Partem* of Ruddiman is chiefly valuable, at present, for his *critical remarks* on Burman's philological notes upon the works of Buchanan, which, having been originally written on the margin of his copy, are now nowhere else to be found. Not content with the general title, which Ruddiman had given to the works of Buchanan, *Buchanani Opera Omnia*, Burman added, with pleonastic falsehood, *historica, chronologica, juridica, politica, satyrica, et poetica*. The *Chronological Table*, which was usefully prefixed to Buchanan's history, was not, however, the production of Buchanan, but the property of Ruddiman; which Burman, therefore, endeavoured to transfer to another. Buchanan never wrote any thing on jurisprudence. His *De Jure Regni*, as Ruddiman allows, may be classed among his party-pamphlets; but, as it treats, neither of the law of Scotland, nor of any other law, it can scarcely be regarded as a juridical treatise. Of

dictation, who sat in his arm-chair with his hands across, and sometimes looked a little at the manuscript; as he was not quite blind.

the satyrica of Buchanan, Ruddiman knew nothing: for, his writings against Mary, Queen of Scots, are no more to be called *satires*, than Cicero's orations against Verres: Buchanan's *Franciscanus*, and his satire in *Carolus Lotharingum Cardinalem*, are indeed satires; but they fall more properly under his *Opera Poetica*; otherwise, continues Ruddiman, his books *De Sphæra* might be stiled *Opera Astronomica*, and his *Jephthes*, and *Baptistes*, *Opera Tragica*.

From these animadversions on the pleonastic title-page of Burman, Ruddiman proceeded to state modestly, but decisively, his objections to his philological notes. And, by an examination of passages, he shows clearly, wherein Burman had misunderstood Buchanan; wherein he had wronged Buchanan's editor; wherein the editor was more likely to be right than the critic. From this investigation, it was proved, even to the conviction of Man, that Burman, with all his critical skill, was not quite free from blunders. It indeed did not require such strictness of inquiry, to satisfy the learned world, that editors, and critics, ought to profess more of charity, than contempt, for each other.

After such minute examinations, and mutual censures, James Man probably found himself better qualified to give his projected edition of Buchanan's History, which he lived not to publish. Having existed, for almost twenty years,

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at Aberdeen, in a state of more bustle, than notice, he ceased to vex himself, or the world, in October 1761. In private life, he was, however, decent in his manners, and inoffensive in his intercourse. Whatever his annual income may have been, he spent little. And, by the attentive parsimony of many years, he had saved about one hundred and fifty-five pounds; of which he bequeathed sixty pounds to his relations; and settled ninety-five pounds on the poor's hospital, of which he had so long been the master, to be applied in giving apprentice-fees, with such boys, as should be educated in that useful seminary. This legacy has accumulated, by prudent management, to two hundred pounds, and now yields an annual income of ten pounds, which enables the directors of the hospital to pay ten shillings a year to each boy, during his apprenticeship.

While James Man lived under the shelter of this hospital, he appears not to have been idle. He delighted to read *local history*, which supplied him with minute facts, for his intended publications. He made collections for an edition of Doctor Arthur Johnston's Poems, which still remain in the hands of professor Thomas Gordon of Aberdeen. The *Assembly* of the *Kirk* encouraged him to write *The History of the Church of Scotland*, a task, which though he never performed, he seems to have been sufficiently qualified

to execute, by his learning, and diligence; and above all, by his zeal of Presbytery, and ardour of Whiggism. With those accomplishments, and aids, Man sent, at length, his edition of Buchanan's History to the printer, (*n*) which was corrected, in some of the last sheets, as they came from the press, by professor Gerrard, who has since been admired for his *Taste*, and respected for his *Sermons*.

When Man's long-expected edition came out, in 1762, the eye of discernment perceived its injudiciousness, though the finger of criticism did not point out its follies. He prefixed the life of Buchanan, which he supposed to be written by the historian himself, but without the useful commentaries of Sibbald, or the able annotations of Ruddiman. One note of Sibbald he did, indeed, subjoin to the encomiastic verses; telling that Buchanan's skull had been preserved in the college library, at Edinburgh; and that it was very round, and very thin.

Man followed the example of Burman, in prefixing to the history Ruddiman's *Tabula Regum Scotiæ Chronologica*, without the previous consent of the owner, for this appropriation of his goods. To his Chronology he did, indeed, add the acces-

(*n*) This edition was printed at Aberdeen, in 1762, by James Chalmers, in an octavo size. It has a copious index. And there is with great propriety, no doubt, added to the whole, Buchanan's Dialogue *de Jure Regni apud Scotos*, which is so illustrative of the ancient law of Scotland!

sion of George II. and George III. which, in 1715, Ruddiman could not include. He copied with blundering slavishness, Ruddiman's errors; and, with reprehensible inattention, he added his own. (o)

Man avowedly adopted the text of the most ancient edition of Arbuthnot, without regarding the emendations of Ruddiman. The first sentence he printed in the following manner: "Cum
" res gestas majorum nostrorum à fabularum va-
" nitate liberare, et ab oblivionis injuria *vendicare*
" statuissém." *Vendicare* Man copied from Arbuthnot. Ruddiman, with less servility, and more judgment, printed *vindicare*. The design of Buchanan sufficiently evinces, that he must have written *vindicare*, as Ruddiman supposed, and not *vendicare*, a word of doubtful Latinity, and of obsolete use. (p)

(o) Both the editors date the elevation of Edgar to the throne of his father, in 1098, instead of 1097. Man dates the accession of William, in 1163, in place of 1165. Neither of the editors include the *Maid* of Norway among the Kings of Scotland; though Ruddiman does, indeed, mention her on another occasion, as one of the sovereigns of Scotland. They both err, as to the true commencement of the reign of John Baliol, which ought to have been in 1292, instead of 1294. And they equally mistake as to the accession of James I. which ought to have been dated 1405, instead of 1406.

(p) *Vindico*, non *Vendico*, says Cellarius, in his *Orthographia Latina*. And, see the authority of Priscian added to the judgment of Cellarius, in Putschius, p. 1208. But what is Man to Priscian, or Priscian to Man!

Man

Man added *various readings*, and subjoined explanatory notes, that he had collected from rare manuscripts; yet, he does not, like Ruddiman, inform us, whence he had them, or where they may be seen.

His notes, which are very superficial, very conceited, and very ignorant, are chiefly written in English. With true superficiality, he explained the *veterans* of the Roman armies to have been *old beaten soldiers*. (q) With genuine prejudice, he insisted, in opposition to Ruddiman, that the accession of the Scottish Kings commenced from their *coronation*, and not from the day of the prior *demise*. Without any love of truth, without any regard to law, without any apprehension of consequences, this wretched scribbler has his political follies always uppermost in his mind. But, his ignorance was still greater than his prejudice. He very gravely instructed (r) the Scottish Antiquaries, that the VALLUM SEVERI *beginnetb at the Firth of Forth, and goeth west to the Firth of Clyde*. He had borrowed this absurd note from his master Buchanan, who was as little acquainted with the antiquities of Scotland as himself. The ignorance of Buchanan admits of some extenuation; because few records of stone had, when he wrote, been dug from the *Vallum ANTONINI*,

(q) In p. 93, note 2.

(r) P. 108, note 1.

even if his genius could have stooped to read inscriptions. (s) But, for Man to write thus, of the wall of Severus, subsequent to the elaborate note of Ruddiman, which quotes the inscriptions, (t) and subsequent to the publication of Gordon's *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, (u) which had given engravings of the stones, was indeed unpardonable. Perhaps Man thought, as Mr. George Wallace, a most learned lawyer of Edinburgh, has since taught his countrymen, that the *sceptical doubts of Buchanan are entitled to more consideration, than positive assertions, made after laborious researches by any shallow antiquary.* (x) But, of James Man, his superficiality, his prejudices, and his ignorance, enough!

(s) The judgment of Camden led him to read inscriptions, which he considered as the best evidence of historic truth: And, from inscriptions, Camden knew the true scite of the wall of Antoninus.

(t) Buch. Op. Om. vol. 1. p. 413, which refers to the text, p. 9. D. 3.

(u) It was published at London, 1726. See p. 50-64, and the plates 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. for demonstrations, that the Roman wall, between the Forth and Clyde, was constructed by the Roman legions, during the reign of ANTONINUS.

(x) Ancient Peerages, edit. 1785. p. 450; where Mr. Wallace talks in mercantile phrase, but with *sceptical doubts*, "that *Earls* were first *imported* into Scotland by Malcolm "Canmore." It were easy to show, that a writer may be a *shallow antiquary*, while he dogmatizes, as a most profound jurist,

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The time had meantime arrived, when Ruddiman was to turn from the contests, and amusements of literature, to more serious objects. With his usual prudence, he had made a testamentary disposition of his property, on the 17th of May 1746. Various changes, which had successively occurred, induced him to make a new settlement of his affairs, on the 22d of March 1756. He now made a *disposition* and *assignation* of his whole estate. Of this *disposition* John Gordon, an advocate, James Wright, and Thomas Boswell, writers, and Walter Ruddiman, his brother, had the honour to be the *overseers*. And, this *assignation* of the property of Ruddiman was made *in trust*, for the following uses: For the payment of his just debts, and his widow's jointure: for the behoof of his only daughter, during her life: and, after her decease, for the general benefit of her children, in equal portions, to those, who were born, and to those who might be born. (y) Such was the settlement of Rud-

(y) The deed of settlement.—Ruddiman, alas! who had written for such a length of years, with so great facility and neatness, was now obliged *to touch the pen*, as it was held by William Rolland, and William Henry, who were *co-notaries*. The witnesses of Ruddiman's signature were George Tod, the writer of the deed; Alexander Brown, *Student of Divinity*, who is at present, the keeper of the Advocates Library; George Scot, an apprentice to Walter Ruddiman; and John Richardson, another apprentice of Walter Ruddiman, who has since distinguished himself by his *Persian Dictionary*, and other learned works.

diman!

diman! And, such a settlement, every wise man will make, before that period approaches, when fruition can no longer please, and hope looks forward to higher joys.

Ruddiman died at Edinburgh, on Wednesday, the 19th of January 1757, when he had advanced into the eighty-third year of his age. (2) He had lived for seven years under the affliction of bodily diseases, of various kinds; but his mental powers remained unshaken to the end. He had been long afflicted by the strangury; he had been somewhat stupified by deafness; and at the same time, that the sight of one of his eyes was lost, the vision of the other was almost extinguished: But, the pressure of his infirmities only gave ardour to his piety, and the debilities of age only invigorated the steadiness of his faith. He was buried in the cemetery of the Grey-friars church, but without the affectionate tribute of a tomb-stone, which, indeed, had merely preserved his memory for a day; as it has long been forgotten, that Buchanan had once *a stone*, in the

(2) Scots Mag. 1757, p. 54, where there is a short account of him, and of his writings. There was inserted in the Caledonian Mercury, dated the 27th of January, 1757, a brief, but affectionate, character of Ruddiman, by the Rev. William Harper, senior, one of the ministers of the episcopal church at Edinburgh.

same

same cemetery, which inquiry can no longer find. (a)

During several years, Scotland has, indeed, been led to expect, that a cenotaph would be erected, at Laurence Kirk, by Lord Gardenstone, not so much to perpetuate Ruddiman's name, as to do honour to his learning, and to exalt his worth. (b) In May 1790, Lord Gardenstone declared, (c) "that he still intended to erect a
" proper monument, in his village, to the me-
" mory of the late learned, and worthy, Mr.

(a) I caused a search lately to be made for the *through-stone* of Buchanan, which having sunk, under the ground, was restored, in 1701, by the magistrates of Edinburgh; but the *stone* of Buchanan has again sunk under the accumulated dust of meaner men. His paraphrase of the Psalms will preserve his memory; but, *his pillar* will not!

(b) "We stopped at Lawrence Kirk" [on the 21st of August 1773] says Mr. Boswell, "where our great grammarian Ruddiman was once schoolmaster. We respectfully
" remembered that excellent man, and eminent scholar, by
" whose labours a knowledge of the Latin language will
" be preserved in Scotland, if it shall be preserved at all.
" Lord Gardenstone, one of our judges, collected money to
" raise a monument to him at this place, which I hope will
" be well executed. I know my father [Lord Achin-
" leck] gave five guineas towards it." [Tour to the Hebrides, with Doctor Johnson, p. 74.]

(c) In his letter, dated the 28th of May, 1790, to Mr. Charles Steuart, the writer to the signet, which is in my hands.

" Thomas

D. 1757.] THOMAS RUDDIMAN. 271

“ Thomas Ruddiman.” Yet, was there published, at Edinburgh, in 1792, a volume of *Miscellanies*, (*d*) under Lord Gardenstone’s name; containing an avowed attack on the memory, and mean detractions from the fame, of Ruddiman. Cenotaph our “great grammarian” will have none. But, his philological labours will communicate “eternal blazon” to his name, after the fall of structures of marble, or pillars of brass, had they been erected, by other hands than his own:—

Post obitum benefacta manent, æternaque virtus
Non metuit Stygiis ne rapiatur aquis.

Of such a person as Ruddiman, the curious reader naturally desires to know various particulars, which could not be compressed into the narrative of his life. It is to be lamented that, of such a man, had not been “writ in remembrance,” more minute information, than enquiry could collect, or diligence can relate. Yet, must we ever recollect that,—

“ *The truth hath certain bounds, but falsehood none.*”

Ruddiman died in easy circumstances, though his property, which did not consist of money in the public funds, seems not to have much increased, after the vigilance of his attention had

(*d*) *Miscellanies, in Prose and Verse, &c.* by the Hon. Lord Gardenstone. Edinburgh, printed by J. Robertson, Southbridge Street, 1792, 8vo.

been

been obstructed by the infirmities of age. At the epoch of his decease, he was probably worth, in "worldly goods," about three thousand pounds, sterling, exclusive of the *Caledonian Mercury*, and his other printing business. (e) He appears to have been an original member of *The British Linen Company*, which was first established, at Edinburgh, in 1746; and having a share of three hundred pounds, he had, of consequence, a vote in choosing the governor, deputy-governor, and the directors. Considering the time, and place, in which he lived, his wealth must be deemed considerable, to have been acquired by his diligence, and amassed by his œconomy.

The widow of Ruddiman lived till the 13th of October 1769. She is described to me by the Reverend Robert Walker, who had often seen her, "as a woman of a fine aspect, elegant manners, and amiable disposition." His brother, Walter Ruddiman, who had been so many years his partner, died on the 23d of August 1770, at the age of eighty-three, being then the oldest master-printer, in Scotland. (f) His only daughter

(e) MS. inventory of his effects, 1736-50. See a list of *the books*, which were printed by Thomas Ruddiman, in the APPENDIX, No. 8.

(f) Scots Mag. 1770, p. 458. In the same volume, p. 441, there is a copy of verses, in memory of Walter Ruddiman, by W. O. [Walter Oswald], who had been his apprentice,

ter Alifon, who, as we have seen, married James Steuart, in 1747, is still alive, after bringing her husband many children. Thomas Ruddiman Steuart, her eldest son, is a physician at Sheffield, in Yorkshire, and has many of the talents, and much of the worth, of his grandfather. Her second son, Charles, is a writer to the signet, at Edinburgh, a profession, which he executes with Ruddiman's diligence, and modesty. Her third son, William, went, when a youth, into the military service, of the East-India Company; and, acquiring the Eastern languages, became a correspondent of Sir William Jones, and is now assistant-resident at Hydrabad, and possesses both integrity and address, which qualify him to negotiate with Scindia. She has also four daughters, Anne, Cecilia, Frances, and Mary, who, with all the attractions of women, are still unmarried. Such are Ruddiman's grand-children, who are destined to continue his race.

Our grammarian was of a middle stature, and a thin habit, but of a frame so compact, as to have carried him on beyond the period, which is usually assigned to man. His gait, till the latest period of his life, was upright, and active. His

tice, and journeyman. He is described, by a grateful, rather than poetic, pen, as,

“ Of unaffected manners, social, kind ;

“ The gentlest master, father, husband, friend.”

T

eyebrows

eyebrows were arched and bushy: And, his eyes were originally so piercing, that it required steady impudence to withstand their fixed look, or sudden glance.

His dress of ceremony is described to me as follows, by the Reverend David Love, who saw Ruddiman, in August 1747, at the examination of his father's school, sitting between George Logan, who was a little, neat, man, and professor Mackie, who was tall, and thin: He had on a grizzle wig, which was much curled, and but slightly sprinkled with powder. His coat was of cloth and of a mixed orange colour; his waistcoat, like the waistcoat of Johnson, when he attended his Irene, was of scarlet cloth, and decorated with broad gold lace. His shirt was ornamented with very deep ruffles.

He was a man of such uncommon temperance, that in the course of so long a life he never was once intoxicated with liquor. He loved indeed a chearful glass: but, when he was wound up by the enjoyment of friendly society to his accustomed exhilaration, he would then refrain from drink; saying, *that the liquor would not go down.*

He appears, indeed, to have never had any great affection for those convivial meetings, called clubs. His industry, at no period of his life, allowed him to look for refuge in the resorts of idleness. He tells us himself, "That he never was concerned in any club but two: the one, which

which was set up many years before he was engaged in it, and consisted of gentlemen of considerable rank, such as Sir Thomas Moncrief, and Sir William Scott, of doctors of physic, and of episcopal ministers: the other was set up by schoolmasters, who were joined by persons of greater consequence, for improving themselves in useful learning, without meddling with church, or state." (g)

Of the powers of his conversation, I have heard little. He did not affect the character of a wit, much less the buffoonery of a droll. On questions of literature, much regard was paid to his opinion. Had he been less modest, he could have been satirical. Inquiring once of the Reverend Robert Walker, who was then his amanuensis, what classes he had been attending at the college of Edinburgh; and being told, that he had that morning heard a lecture on *Liberty and Necessity*, Ruddiman said, "Well: does your professor
" make us free agents, or not?" To which Mr. Walker answered, "He gives us arguments on
" both sides, and leaves us to judge." "Very
" well," rejoined Ruddiman; "*The fool has said*
" *in his heart there is no God*; and the professor
" will not tell you, whether the fool be right or
" wrong." The professor, who acted thus, was Cleghorn, a supposed *deist*, who had been chosen,

(g) A MS. note on *Furius*, dated the 16th of May 1755.

in opposition to Hume, the philosopher, who was deemed a *jacobite*. The electors preferred Cleg-horn to Hume; sagely considering that, as Scotland furnished no other choice, a deist might probably become a Christian, but a *jacobite* could not possibly become a Whig.

Ruddiman was frugal of his time, and moderate, both in his pleasures and amusements. His day was usually employed in the following manner. He rose early, and devoted the morning to study. During the sitting of the Court of Session, he used to attend the Advocates Library from ten o'clock till three. He commonly retired from dinner at four, except when it was necessary to show respect to friends. His evenings were generally spent in conversation with the learned. During the decline of his age, when an amanuensis became requisite, his day was spent somewhat differently. His first act of the morning was to kneel down, while his amanuensis read prayers. He lived chiefly in his library. A basin of tea was brought him for his breakfast; he dined about two o'clock; and tea was again sent in to him a little after four. His amanuensis generally read to him seven hours a day, Sunday alone excepted, which, in the presence of his family, and with the help of the Reverend Mr. Harper, was dedicated to the service of God.

From nature, our grammarian had certainly uncommon endowments, both of memory and
judg-

judgment, which do not always go together. He could remember the number of lines, which had been prescribed for his tasks at school. Ovid was his favourite; and of this poet he could repeat sixty lines, without mistaking a word. He had a practice, to which he was much indebted, he said, for his knowledge of Latin, of committing to memory, for occasional use, any passage in prose authors, that was remarkable for excellence, either in thought, or expression. He used to enter in a common-place-book any uncommon hint, or unformed thought, which might be improved to advantage, as necessity required, or occasion offered.

The works of Ruddiman, for which he had made such previous preparation, shew him to have been a consummate master of the Latin language. (*b*) He was acquainted with Greek. But

(*b*) On this subject, Mr. Professor Thomas Gordon of the King's College, Aberdeen, wrote me, the 15th of May 1791, as follows: "From Mr. Ruddiman's *Vindication of Buchanan's Psalms* against Mr. Auditor Benson, you will find not only his perfect knowledge of the Latin classic authors, in matters of prosody, and grammatical lore, in general, but that he beats the auditor out of sight, in taste, and perception of their elegancies. In my acquaintance with English gentlemen, or our countrymen, who had had an English education, I found that, when they read the Latin poets, they paid attention only to the punctuation, not making any *mora* of pronunciation, at the end of a line, and much less paying any attention to the penthemimers, and other

But he pretended to know nothing of Hebrew, any more than Buchanan, who, when he undertook to paraphrase the Psalms, ought to have understood the original language, in which they had been written. Ruddiman was acquainted with several modern tongues, though which particularly, or to what extent, cannot now be ascertained. He wrote the Latin with correctness, no doubt, but certainly without the classic happiness of Buchanan. Ruddiman's English has ruggedness, without strength, and inelegance, without precision. But, what he plainly wanted in manner, he amply supplied in matter. His writings, whether they were composed in his early youth, or during his old age, are instructive, as might reasonably be expected from his intellect, his erudition, and his diligence. When he was drawn into controversy he is often severe, but he is never scurrilous, though few polemics ever had greater provocation. It may gratify the reader to see the following list of Ruddiman's Works, to which is prefixed the year of his age, when he executed each; and to which

“ cæsura; so that, in their mouths, there was no distinction
“ between reading a passage of Virgil, and an oratorical
“ passage in Cicero's Orations. Out of my admiration of
“ their superior knowledge in Latinity, I was, at a time,
“ led away with this, till I was instructed by Mr. Ruddi-
“ man, and afterwards read *his Vindication*, where this mat-
“ ter is treated of in a masterly manner. As far as I know,
“ no other writer has said a single word on that subject.”

is

is subjoined the date, when each book was finished:

The Year of his own Age.	The Date when each was finished.
20. Rhetoricæ Compendium, incerto Auctore, à T. Ruddimanno tum juvene, admodum aliqui- bus locis interpolatum. MS. 8vo. not published.	1694.
28. Excerptions out of several au- thors. MS. 4to. not published.	1702.
33. Volusenus. De Animi tranquili- tate, Dialogus; cum prefatione Ruddimanni. Edin. 8vo.	1707.
35. Johnstonus. Cantici Solomonis paraphrasis Poetica; cum notis Ruddimanni. Edin. 8vo.	1709.
36. Gawin Douglas's Virgil. The Glossary, with other prefixes, by Ruddiman. Edin. folio.	1710.
39. Forrest's Vocabulary, Latin, and English, improved by Ruddi- diman. Edin. 8vo.	1713.
40. The Rudiments of the Latin Tongue. Edin. 8vo. Grammatical Exercises; or Turner's Praxis, adapted to the Rudiments, by Ruddiman, Edin. 12mo.	1714.
41. Buchanani Opera Omnia; cum	1715.
T 4	notis

The Year of
his own Age.

The Date when each
was finished.

notis Ruddimanni, 2 vols.
Edin. folio.

48. Epistolæ Jacobi 4¹, &c. of 1722.
which Ruddiman was the edi-
tor, 1 vol. Edin. 8vo.
50. Epistolæ Jacobi 4¹, &c. vol. 2. 1724.
Edin. 8vo.
49. Ovidii Decerpta ex Metamor- 1723.
phosæon; libris notis Anglicis,
Willimottii et Ruddimanni.
Edin. 12mo.
51. Grammaticæ Latinæ Institutiones, 1725.
&c. Pars Prima. Edin. 8vo.
57. Pars Secunda. Edin. 8vo. 1731.
53. Selecta Poemata Archibaldi Pit- 1727.
carnii. The preface by Ruddy-
man. Edin. 8vo.
59. A Dissertation upon the Way of 1733.
teaching the Latin Language,
&c. with remarks on John
Clarke.
63. Buchanan's Psalms; with notes 1737.
by Professor Robert Hunter,
T. Ruddiman, and John Love.
65. Diplomata & Numismata Sco- 1739.
tiæ. The preface, &c. by
Ruddiman. Edin. folio.
66. Critical Remarks on Burman's 1740.

Notes

The Year of
his own Age.

The Date when each
was finished.

Notes on Ovid's Works. MS.
folio, pp. 87, not published.

68. Scott's Sermon on Psalm xi. 7. 1742.
The preface by Ruddiman.

59-68. The Catalogue of the Advo- 1733
cate's Library, begun in 1733, 1742.
and printed, except the last
page, in 1742.

71. A Vindication of Buchanan's Pa- 1745.
raphrase of the Psalms. Edin.
8vo.

71. Notes on Burman's Lucan. MS. 1745.
folio, pp. 40, not published.

73. An Answer to Logan's late Trea- 1747.
tise on Government. Edin.
8vo.

74. A Dissertation, concerning the 1748.
Competition for the Crown of
Scotland, between Robert
Bruce and John Baliol. Edin.
8vo.

75. Animadversions on a late Pam- 1749.
phlet, intitled, A Vindication
of Geo. Buchanan, &c. Edin.
8vo.

77. Titi Livii Opera. Edin. 4 vols. 1751.
12mo. Ruddiman was the edi-
tor.

78. A

The Year of
his own Age.

The Date when each
was finished.

78. A Letter to Mr. John Garden, 1752.
as to the manner, in which the
Romans pronounced their own
language. MS. 4to. pp. 25.
not published.
80. Anticrifis; or a Discussion of a 1754.
scurrilous and malicious Libel,
published by one James Man
of Aberdeen. Edin. 8vo.
82. Audi Alteram Partem, &c. 1756.
Edin. 8vo.

Ruddiman, as he delighted in study, collected, at a great expence, a library, from which, having derived many of the advantages, and pleasures, of life, he hoped for posthumous fame. As a collector of books he began early, and continued late. When he made an inventory of his effects, on the 13th of October 1746, he valued his library, to which many volumes had been recently added, at three hundred pounds, though it had cost him five hundred. When he made a similar estimate of his property, on the 15th of May 1750, he appraised his library at four hundred pounds, as it had been much enlarged, since 1746. The *Bibliotheca Ruddimanniana* was rather a selection of the most valuable editions, than a collection of rare classics, either of the original works, or of early translations of them, which are the only classics, during the infancy of
of

of literature. Ruddiman made a catalogue of his books with his own hand, which shows his judgment, as to the proper classes, in which such a library ought to be arranged. This catalogue was printed, after his decease, (i) under the following title, and comprehended the subjoined arrangement.

BIBLIOTHECA ROMANA, five, *Catalogus Auctorum*, tam eorum qui verè *Romani*, aliàs *Classici* appellantur, quàm plerorumque illorum qui literas Romanas restituerunt, vel quoquo modo iis excolendis promovendisque operam impenderunt: *Quorum fere omnium* Optimas accuratissimasque *Editiones*, ingenti tum sumptu, tum industriâ, collegit, et in ordinem digessit THOMAS RUDDIMANNUS, A. M. Inclyti, quod in Scotia est, *Jurisconsultorum Collegii*, per quinquaginta pene Annos, *Bibliothecarius*.

Librorum in hac Bibliotheca contentorum series et dispositio.

CLASSIS I.

I. Scriptores Latini, qui *Classici* appellantur, se-

(i) It was printed at Edinburgh, by Walter Ruddiman and Co. 8vo, pp. 112, 1757. In the MS. catalogue I observe the following note, on the edition of Horace, Lutet. 1553. 4to. "This given to Dr. James Douglas of London, " who made it his business to collect all the editions of Horace. I gave him other two, which he had not." Several other books are marked, *given away*. Ruddiman, then, may be considered as a *generous* collector of books.

cundum

cundum temporum quibus claruerunt feriem dispositi.

2. Fragmenta veterum Scriptorum Latinorum.
3. Vetera quædam Poemata Latina, de quorum Auctoribus, vel ætate, quâ vixerint, inter eruditos haud convenit, vel denique, quæ minoris pretii habentur.
4. Scriptores quidam antiqui, quorum ætas ignorantur, vel qui ad superiores Classēs minùs commodè reduci possunt.
5. De Jure civili, sive Romano, libri.

CLASSIS II.

1. Patres Ecclesiastici, aliique auctores Christiani vetustiores, qui Latinè scripserunt: servato quo quisque claruerit temporis ordine.
2. Poëtæ Latini Christiani, qui ante Seculum 15. claruerunt, secundum temporum, quibus vixerunt, feriem dispositi.

CLASSIS III.

1. Grammatici, aliique auctores veteres, qui de Latina lingua scripserunt.
2. Grammatici Latini recentiores, alphabetico ordine digesti.

CLASSIS IV.

1. Poëtæ Latini recentiores.
2. De Poësi et Poëtis in genere scriptores.

CLASSIS

CLASSIS V.

1. Oratores Latini recentioris ætatis.
2. De Rhetorica scriptores Latini recentiores.

CLASSIS VI.

Epistolographi, seu epistolarum Latinarum recentioris ævi, scriptores.

CLASSIS VII.

Philologi, literatores, critici, aliique id genus eloquentiæ Romanæ instauratores, promotores et excultores.

CLASSIS VIII.

Lexicographi, aliique dictionariorum, glossariorum, vocabulariorum, et cujuscunque generis, sive alphabeti ordine, sive per locos communes digestorum, scriptores; non Latini modo, sed et Græci, Gallici, Anglici, Germanici, &c.

Quibus adduntur grammatici Græci.

CLASSIS IX.

De puerorum recta educatione, eorumque studiis, præsertim in lingua Latina rite ac prudenter dirigendis, libri. Item, Diverforum auctorum de studiis in qualibet arte vel scientia rite instituendis, præcepta et consultationes.

CLASSIS X.

1. Bibliothecarii, et de libris in genere, scriptores.
2. Virorum eruditione illustrium vitæ & elogia.
3. Scriptores aliquot miscellanei.
4. Auctores nonnulli, qui præcipuam nominis famam propter sermonis Latini eloquentiam et castitatem sibi pepererunt.
5. Insignium aliquot bibliothecarum catalogi.

In each of those *classes*, the collection was various, select, and numerous. Such was the library of Ruddiman! Though he had once designed to bequeath it to the *Faculty of Advocates*, his generosity was, in the end, overruled by his justice. It remained, of course, in his possession till his death; and no purchaser of the whole collection appearing, it was sold, by auction, at Edinburgh, in February 1758.

With all his genius, his knowledge, and his judgment, Ruddiman was one of those wise, and virtuous, men, who could not bring their minds to approve of the Revolution, in 1688. Whether he thought the greatness of the necessity insufficient to justify the extent of the measure; or supposed, that a bad administration might have been meliorated, by less violent measures; cannot now be known. He plainly admitted, however, when pressed upon the point, that an extraordinary

traordinary revolution may be justified, by an urgent necessity, though he did not allow, that every petty clamour ought to warrant an uncommon change. And he was, of consequence, as a politician a *jacobite*, though he was too wise, to be violent, and too virtuous, to be refractory. (*k*)

“ My principles,” Ruddiman has been heard to say, “ induce me to be a quiet subject, and a good citizen:” “ Your maxims,” addressing himself to his opponents, “ lead you, on every occasion, into the seditious conspiracies of Catiline, or into the wild proscriptions of Sylla.” He admitted, however, that any illegal act might be resisted, either by a greater, or a less force: but, his reading had not furnished him with the example of a constitution, which allowed, that *the laws* might be resisted by any persons, for any cause. When the tax was laid upon plate, his wife proposed to follow the pattern, which was shewn by the friends of government, who endeavoured to evade it: “ No,” said Ruddiman to her, mildly, “ let us act justly, and submit to

(*k*) In the pamphlet, entitled, *Furius*, it is said, p. 18. “ This gentleman [Ruddiman] being bred up in the principles of the nonjurant clergy in Scotland, became a *violent champion for their cause*.” On this passage, our grammarian has a MS. note: “ T. R. was never violent in any cause, far less in that, unless it be called violence, in one to defend his own principles, when attacked.”

“ the

“ the powers that be, as we are commanded, in
 “ every thing, which does not interfere with the
 “ rectitude of our hearts, or the peace of our
 “ consciences.” For acting, in this manner,
 like a true Christian, and a good subject, Ruddiman was insulted by Logan, the political preacher, as the *slave of non-resistance*.

It was perhaps Ruddiman's reputation for *jacobitism*, which induced Mr. John Pinkerton to publish, in one of his books, the following charge of uncommon jacobitism. “ Ruddiman was a
 “ warm friend of royalty, and of the House of
 “ Stuart, so much so, that he firmly believed,
 “ and often repeated, in conversation, that every
 “ one of that line, who was to ascend the throne,
 “ was born with a red lion impressed on his
 “ right arm.” And, Mr. Pinkerton added, in an authenticating note, “ This was told to the
 “ author [Pinkerton] by the late ingenious Doctor [Gilbert] Stuart, a relation of Ruddiman's,
 “ and who had often heard Ruddiman insisting
 “ on this.” (1)

I have traced this tale, through all the mazes of its error, and all the shifts of its malevolence; in order to discover, if Ruddiman was chargeable with the imputed folly, by giving way to such weakness. As women are generally the witnesses of men's imbecillity, I asked the wo-

(1) See *The Inquiry into the History of Scotland*, which was published at London, 1789, the Introduction.—p. 58-59.

men of Ruddiman's family, if they had ever heard him "repeat in conversation" such a tale: but, they answered, "Never." I inquired of those persons, who for seven years had read, and written, for him, when he could not read, or write, for himself, if they had ever heard Ruddiman "insisting on this" foolery: but, having never heard of Mr. Pinkerton's book, they were surprized, that such a question should be asked, much more, that such a charge should be made. I conversed on this subject with the father of Doctor Gilbert Stuart, the late Professor George Stuart, who, having lived long in intimacy with Ruddiman, might have known his secrets. The professor said, laughingly, "That having been once with Mr. Ruddiman to hear a sermon of Mr. Harper, (*m*) the preacher said, that *an usurper is easily known from the right heir, by wanting the royal mark of a lion on his arm: that walking from church, Mr. Ruddiman asked him, how he liked that part of the sermon; to which he answered, that he must first examine his arm, for the infallible mark, before he could tell, whether he were a bastard. This*

(*m*) Mr. Harper, the episcopal minister, was a man of too solid an understanding to entertain such follies, and a preacher of too much discretion to teach such absurdities, to intelligent auditors. He died at Edinburgh, in an advanced age, on the 19th of December 1765, and was regretted by those, who admired his talents, and knew his worth.

U

" answer,"

“ answer,” said the professor, “ made Mr. Ruddiman smile, but did not provoke a reply.” Here, then, is the embryo of the story, which Gilbert Stuart, by his creative powers, first amplified into falsehood, and, by frequent repetition, at length imposed upon credulity, as a fact.

I have, in this manner, tried to perform the hard task of proving an unsatisfactory negative, in opposition to a confident affirmation. I will now endeavour to establish a more convincing affirmative. Such was Gilbert Stuart’s laxity of principle, as a man, that he considered ingratitude as one of the most venial of sins. Such was his conceit as a writer, that he regarded no one’s merits but his own. Such were his disappointments, both as a writer, and a man, that he allowed his peevishness to sour into malice; and indulged his malevolence till it settled in corruption. Forgetting that his family owed favours to Ruddiman, Gilbert Stuart became habitually active in repaying obligations with injuries. He first attempted to detract from Ruddiman’s reputation, as a scholar, and afterwards laboured to ruin his character, as a man. With the mean design, of gaining these malicious objects, he made Mr. Pinkerton the dupe of his profligacy, who listened with open ears, to the improbable falsehood, which, with ready pen, he hastened to divulge to the world, without enquiring

quiring much about its origin, or caring little about its end:"— (n)

" Rumores fuge, ne incipias novus author haberi."

While the story of *the red lion* was yet struggling for admittance among the busy, and belief

(n) In proof of the affirmative, which I undertook to establish, I beg leave to lay before the reader a letter from the Rev. Robert Walker, whom I have already mentioned, as the amanuensis of Ruddiman, dated at Watlington, Norfolk, the 9th of February 1791, and to whom I had written concerning the story of the red lion:—" Your letter gives
 " the first hint to me of the idle traditionary report, concern-
 " ing the impression of a red lion on the arm of the prince,
 " in the Stewart-line, destined for sovereignty. And it is, I
 " think, a scurrilous reflexion on the judgment of a man,
 " who was so cautious of retailing anecdotes by word, or
 " writing, as Mr. Ruddiman, without strict historical evi-
 " dence. From himself I had no such information; and if
 " any such story rested on his authority, or became current,
 " I lived too long in Edinburgh, and its vicinity, not to be
 " told of a circumstance so common. Mr. Ruddiman lived
 " long, but he never talked at random, or repeated legendary
 " tales, as facts. He did not so far survive himself as to sink
 " into dotage, and retained a clear judgment till he lost the
 " use of speech. Your incidental mention of the late Doctor
 " Gilbert Stuart solves the mystery. That he was altogether
 " free from literary pride, I would not affirm. Of Mr. Pin-
 " kerton, I know nothing. But, Dr. Stuart was jealous of all
 " contemporary writers, and treated most adventurers, in that
 " line, as Sciolists, and Garretteers. If any of them came to
 " him for information, he would amuse them with fictitious
 " anecdotes; and vilify them for their credulity afterwards.
 " Mr. Ruddiman was his relation; but even him he did not

belief among the wise, a fresh attack was made on the fame of Ruddiman, from the hand, which, by erecting a monument, was to eternize his worth. “ It had of late become fashionable, it “ seems, to speak of Ruddiman, in terms of the “ highest respect.” (o) While the world was thus doing justice to Ruddiman, faction imagined, during the busy year 1792, that it would help the designs of party, to elevate Buchanan, and to depress Ruddiman, by reviving the forgotten *Cen-*

spare.—I was once conversing with the doctor about Mr. “ Ruddiman’s elaborate and critical account of Buchanan’s “ works, prefixed to the folio edition of 1715, and of his “ masterly skill in Latin prosody. His reply was, that, of “ the former, Mr. Ruddiman was not the author, and that of “ the latter he knew little or nothing. The preface, he “ said, was written by Mr. Walter Goodal. This cannot be “ true, for suppose it was written in 1714, Mr. Ruddiman “ was then forty, and the other scarcely exceeded the age of “ a school-boy. His, Mr. Ruddiman’s, Treatise on Prosody, “ inserted in his grammar; his arrangement of Buchanan’s “ versification, in all its kinds and combinations; his curious “ remarks *De variis Buchanani Metris*, subjoined to the po- “ etical works of Buchanan (as the other is prefixed to the “ Psalorum paraphrasis,) and his very critical Vindication “ of Buchanan from the objections of Lauder and Benson, are “ specimens of his exquisite skill in the minutest niceties of “ Latin prosody. From these strictures, I presume you will “ not hesitate to concur with me in opinion, that Doctor “ Stuart did not scruple to mislead Mr. Pinkerton, and had “ no regard to Mr. Ruddiman’s honour, as a grammarian, “ editor, and critic.”

(o) See Lord Gardenstone’s Miscellanies, p. 257.

sure

sure of James Man, though Ruddiman had been dead five-and-thirty years. And, zeal once more ran about the streets of Edinburgh, soliciting calumny to employ her usual arts, for gaining the low objects of sedition. It was one Callender, who has since been outlawed for seditious practices, that wrote Memoirs of Buchanan, as the vehicle of his attack on Ruddiman. It was Lord Gardenstone, who published these Memoirs, in his book of Miscellanies. Callender, then, filled the mortar with those detractions, which were to blast the fame of Ruddiman: and Gardenstone set the match to the murderous artillery.

In LORD GARDENSTONE'S MISCELLANIES, page 280, there is the following note: "Mr. George Chalmers of London is at present writing Ruddiman's Life, in which his treatment of Buchanan ought to stand foremost."

Being in this manner called upon, I shall give my opinion of Ruddiman's treatment of Buchanan. And, I think, that it was exactly what it ought to have been. Ruddiman every where spoke of Buchanan as a great genius, as an extraordinary scholar, and as an admirable poet: He even wrote an elaborate vindication of Buchanan's Psalms, against the hypercritical objections of auditor Benfon. As the editor of his works, Ruddiman endeavoured diligently, as we have seen, to correct the errors of the copyist and the printers; to ascertain his dates; to adjust his

mis-statement of facts; and to rectify his misrepresentation of characters. In performing these useful services to Buchanan, and to the world, Ruddiman acted as an able editor, and a good man. Yet, must it be allowed, that emendatory critics have not hitherto, nor even Ruddiman himself, merited the high honours, which are due only to absolute infallibility.

But, while Ruddiman did ample justice to Buchanan, as an author, he did not, with the absurdity of the late James Man, or the folly of our present detractor, deem Buchanan perfect, as a man. He distinguished accurately, as Dempster (*p*) had done before him, between his *moral* principles, and his *intellectual* endowments. And they, who cannot, with Ruddiman, admire Buchanan's abilities, as a writer, yet, at the same time, despise his character, as a man, have many prejudices of party to conquer, and many lessons of morality to learn.

When Ruddiman sat down, at the age of forty, to publish the works of Buchanan, he regarded his author, as more mistaken than fraudulent: but, when he had advanced beyond his grand climacteric, he discovered his author to have been more fraudulent than mistaken. Like a true critic, he treated Buchanan, according to the lights, in

(*p*) In that very rare book, *Scotorum Scriptorum Nomenclatura*.

which

which he beheld him; gently as a mistaken man; roughly as a fraudulent man. Nevertheless, he did not accuse Buchanan of crimes: he did not reproach him with ingratitude; though it must be admitted, that he did state facts, in his notes on Buchanan's life, from which ingratitude might have been inferred by a malicious adversary. Such was Ruddiman's conduct, as the editor of Buchanan, in 1715. And, it was not till Ruddiman had been persecuted, for almost forty years, by bigotted pertinacity, that he did say, Buchanan had been *accessary to forgery*; that he did insist on Buchanan's *ingratitude*, by publishing, in 1749, the letter of privy-seal, whereby Queen Mary conferred on "Maister George Buchquhan, for all the dayis of his liffe, an zeirliche penfioune of five hundred pundis, usual money of this realme." (q)

Yet,

(q) Animadversions on the Vindication of Geo. Buchanan, Appendix, No. 1. being a copy from the record. In December 1567, there passed an act of parliament, confirming all gifts and pensions by our sovereign Lord's mother, since August 1560. [1 Ja. 6. No. 20, of Glendook's Acts.] This parliamentary confirmation, after the expulsion of Mary, had a sad effect on the gratitude of the times. Of the real value of that annuity we may form an adequate judgment from the subjoined extract of a letter [In the paper office] from Randolph, Queen Elizabeth's ambassador, to Cecil, her minister, dated at Edinburgh, the 26th of February 1561.—"There are now growing new controversies between the Lord Gray and Lord Hume, for the receate of money for at-temptates. The Lord Gray lookethe to be paid as money

Yet, our writer of Memoirs now comes forward, with a happy mixture of ignorance, and sophistry, to insist, that Mary never granted a pension to Buchanan; that it was impossible the superstitious Mary ever would prefer an apostle of rebellion, as a pensioner; that, of consequence, the charge of personal ingratitude to his sovereign is unfounded. The sophister designedly turns his face from the letter of privy-seal, which demonstrates, that *the Queen gave the apostle* a pension, on the 9th of October 1564. He, therefore, *argues against the fact*: And, he attempts, to lead his readers into a wilderness of sophisms,

“ is current in England. The Lord Hume standeth upon
 “ an old custom of four pound Scottish for one pound English. The matter hath been debated here in counsel; and
 “ I am required to write their opinions, which are, that in
 “ as much as the custom is ancient and never otherwyse used,
 “ and that at other tymes, when the 2 d. peeces of England
 “ were no more worth than the babye of this country, w^{ch}
 “ is in value but 1 d. yet they were content to receive the 2 d.
 “ pece as it was then current, losing a ob. in every pece
 “ they took: They say that it is also impossible for them to
 “ get English money, and the gold of Scotland is no more
 “ current in England then their silver; bycause ther is
 “ more presently to demand owte of Scotland then is to be
 “ geven from thence as (upon Monday next 60 l. sterling,
 “ to be pay’d for one byll, and shortly for three horses of
 “ the Lord Gray’s.)”—Such was the state of Scotland, in
 1561, when there was more difficulty to pay *sixty* pounds,
 than there would be, at present, to pay six hundred thousand!

that

that they may not behold the RECORD of Buchanan's CONVICTION. — The *apostle* did not apostatize till Mary had no longer any pension to give.

With genuine consistency, our Memoir-writer, nevertheless insists, that Murray may have advised this act of munificence, though Mary conferred it. We have, however, the evidence of a record, that the Queen gave the pension: but, there is no proof, that the minister advised it. Randolph, the friend of Buchanan, and the enemy of Mary, who was a witness of her bounty, informed Cecil, that the Queen had given Buchanan the temporalities of Corragwell. (r) If then, the requital of evil for good be the definition of ingratitude, it is demonstrated, that Buchanan, who wrote *the Detection of Mary's Doings*, was guilty of personal ingratitude to his beneficent sovereign. I have stated all those points, in direct answer to the before-mentioned call; in order to shew, that Ruddiman was right, and that his detractor is wrong.

Ruddiman, however, is not answerable for the misconceptions, and misrepresentations, of those, who, in their historical researches, have profited by his various labours. Nor, am I to justify

(r) Randolph wrote from Edinburgh, on the 24th of October 1564, to Cecil, " Buchanan hath the temporalities " of Corragwell given him by *the QUEEN*." [Keith 259.] — He was made *pensionary* of Corragwell.

what such historians may have said of Buchanan's forgeries, or Buchanan's perjuries. But, I will support what Ruddiman did indeed assert, (s) in answer to a petulant challenge of Logan, "That
 " it can be demonstrated, the Earls of Murray,
 " and Morton, the Bishop of Orkney, the Lord
 " Lindsay, and the commendator of Dumfer-
 " ling, who swore, that the letters, which they
 " produced as Mary's, were none of her's;
 " but that those, who swore the letters were her's,
 " were themselves the forgers of them." The declaration of Murray and his colleagues, on the 10th of December 1568, (t) will for ever remain the record of their guilt. By the tenour thereof, they testified, avowed, and affirmed, upon their *honours* and *conscience*, "That the said
 " missive writings, sonnetts, and obligations,
 " were undoubtedly the said Queen's proper
 " hand write." When we recollect how clearly those letters, and sonnets, have been proved to be forgeries, (u) it is impossible to read that affidavit

(s) Answer to Logan, p. 291-2.

(t) It was published, in 1727, by Anderson, in his *Collect.* vol. 2. p. 259; and in 1754, by Goodal, in his *Appendix*, No. 24.

(u) By Bishop Leslie, in 1569; by Mr. Goodal, in 1754; by Mr. Tytler, in 1760-90; but most decisively by Mr. Whitaker, in 1789-90, who is of opinion, that the operative work, of forging the letters, was performed by Lethington, and of forging the sonnets by Buchanan. The
 over-

davit without abhorrence. Thus, they swore, says Ruddiman, what no honest man can swear; not, (as they ought) that they *believed*, or *had ground to think*, these letters to Bothwell were written by Queen Mary: But, they swore, that these letters were *undoubtedly* her's. (x) Buchanan, indeed, did not swear: he only justified what his friends had sworn!

Yet, the Memoir-writer feels no indignation at the perjury, which had provoked the contemptuous censure of Ruddiman. He says, with great coolness, that the *ground of objection to such swearing is ridiculous*. He tells truly, that the evidence, arising *ex comparatione literarum*, is known to every mortal. And he asserts historically, what is not to be credited, *that such oaths are administered every day in our courts of justice*. (y) But,—

“*Judicium reddit verum narratio vera.*”

The objection is not to the legality, or to the mode of the proof; the objection is not to Murray, and his colleagues, as competent witnesses,

overpowering strength of Mr. Whitaker's *Vindication* consists, in proving an *alibi*; that is, he establishes various *facts*, which, being *true*, prove *the impossibility* of the letters and sonnets being genuine. Before *such facts*, verbal criticisms fly, like the falling leaves before the winter's blast.

(x) Answer to Logan, 292.

(y) Lord Gardenstone's Miscell. 255, 256-8.

to prove the similarity of Mary's writing: But, the objection is, that when the witnesses gave their testimonies, they swore positively, that the letters were undoubtedly Mary's, though they had not seen her write them; though they could not know that she had written them; they swore positively that to be true, which they knew to be absolutely false. Thus, have I once more shewn, that Ruddiman was right, and that his detractor is wrong.

Let us proceed a step further in this nefarious transaction. During the conferences at York, Murray, and his colleagues, sent to the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Suffex, and Sir Ralph Sadler, who acted as Elizabeth's commissioners, Secretary Maitland, James Macgill, George Buchanan, and Henry Balnaves, in order by *secret conference*, to shew them such circumstances, as should induce the commissioners to judge Mary guilty of the said murder. For this end, they secretly shewed the commissioners several letters, ballads, and other writings, which were closed in a little coffer of silver. And Maitland, Macgill, BUCHANAN, and Balnaves, did then, and there, said the commissioners to Elizabeth, (z)

" constantly affirm the said letters and other writings,
" which they produced, of Mary's own hand, to be

(z) See the commissioners' letter to Elizabeth, in Goodal's Appendix No. 47; and see particularly page 140-142.

“ *her own hand indeed ; and did* OFFER TO SWEAR
“ *and* TAKE THEIR OATHS THEREUPON.” But,
with what design did they affirm, and offer to
swear to the genuineness of the letters, and other
writings ? With design, said Elizabeth’s commis-
sioners, “ *to condemn the Queene of Scottis of the*
“ *said murder.*” In this mirror then, we be-
hold Buchanan, acting as a secret agent, for a
villainous purpose : he affirms writings to be ge-
nuine, which he did not know to be genuine :
he offers to swear to the authenticity of *the* BAL-
LADS, which he knew to be forgeries : and, with
the spirit of an assassin, he attempts by *supposititious*
evidence, to convict his Queen, and benefactress,
of murder. Yet, our detractor charges Ruddi-
man with malicious error, in speaking of Bu-
chanan’s ingratitude !

But, says the writer of his Memoirs, Buchanan
did not forge the *letters*. For, the fabrication of
them was the sole contrivance of Maitland, as
Mr. Whitaker has shewn : He might have also
added, that Mr. Whitaker has equally proved, by
strong circumstances, that Buchanan forged *the*
ballads. (*a*) Now, according to our legal rea-
soner, Buchanan was not guilty of forgery : for,
he did not forge the bond : he only forged the
bank-note. Nevertheless, Ruddiman never said
thus much, nor spoke thus plainly of Buchanan,

(*a*) Vindication, vol. 3. p. 58-60.

though

though he knew, that there existed sufficient evidence to consign him to indelible disgrace.

This evidence, Mr. Whitaker, with an acuteness, which is peculiar to himself, hath at length found, and with a clearness, that seldom illuminates the world, has plainly produced. He has evinced, beyond the power of contradiction, that Buchanan published a *fabricated*, in place of a *genuine*, letter of the Earl of Lenox, the father of Darnley. By contrasting the real, with the fictitious, letter, Mr. Whitaker made the fabrication apparent to the dimmest eye: and, in this satisfactory manner, was the forgery fixed upon Buchanan, so as to strike the dullest understanding (*b*).

But, our Memoir-writer insists, that Buchanan did not rebel against his Queen; since *the rebels were victorious*. In his system of ethics, it seems, the *event* discriminates the *offence*: the highwayman, who escapes the pursuit, is innocent: the regicide, who eludes detection, is guiltless. Yet, Ruddiman never said, that Buchanan was a rebel, nor that his moral character ought to de-

(*b*) The *genuine* letter of the Earl of Lenox may be seen in Anderson's Collections, vol. 1. p. 47: the *forged* letter of Lenox is in Anderson, vol. 2. p. 111: and, see the two letters contrasted in Mr. Whitaker's Vindication, vol. 3. p. 335-7. And, see vol. 2. p. 85-86, how Buchanan managed his falsehoods, in his Detection, and his History.

rive its genuine colour from his ultimate success:—

———— “ Careat successibus, opto,
“ Quisquis ab eventu factâ notanda putat.”

Our writer of Memoirs is pertinaciously determined to convict Ruddiman of asserting what cannot be defended: for, Ruddiman said, it seems, that Buchanan had been appointed by James V. the preceptor of his bastard son, James, the Prior of St. Andrews, instead of James, the Abbot of Kelso. The detractor thus detects, in 1792, a petty error, which had been first disclosed to the world, by Mr. John Love, in 1749. (c) And which, Ruddiman confessed, (d) in 1754, that he had committed, with Le Clerc, Sibbald, and the other biographers, who preceded him. But, in our detractor's creed, *repentance* does not insure *mercy*.

The fact is, that the Life which has been published, as if it had been written by Buchanan himself, though it was written by Peter Young, has egregiously misled all the subsequent biographers. This life, notwithstanding the commentary of Sibbald, and the annotations of Ruddiman, is still so obscure as to be often unintelligible; it is so vague, as to be sometimes contradictory; and it is so general, as to be frequently

(c) Vindication of Buchanan.

(d) Anticrisis, p. 130.

false. Our Memoir-writer has given himself no trouble to illustrate the dark, to reconcile the opposite, or to detect the false. He is only active in fixing charges of absurdity on those, who wandered about in this maze of error, without finding the path-way of truth.

Our detractor raises the horse-laugh of folly at Ruddiman, for endeavouring to rectify the life, which had asserted, that Mary appointed Buchanan the preceptor to her son, in 1565, at the time she was only married, but not a mother. Yet, there is nothing absurd in supposing, what Young states, in his Life, and what Buchanan asserts, in his History, that the grammarian, who was writing verses to Mary, on her marriage, in 1565, may have been soon after destined to be the instructor of her future issue.

The zealots who, for two centuries, have defended Buchanan, not only as a great scholar, but as a man of perfect character, have strenuously insisted, that as he had never derived any favour from Mary, she was not entitled to any gratitude from him. Our Memoir-writer, following this track of his predecessors, endeavours to shew against Ruddiman, what had been already shewn by his former antagonists, that Buchanan was appointed the principal of St. Leonard's College, by the Prior, and not by the Queen. This position is rather problematical than

than certain: (e) yet, there can be no doubt, but Mary made Buchanan *the pensioner of Corf-ragwell*.

It was, on this head, justly observed by Ruddiman, that if all had been true of Mary, which ambition had forged, and malice had spread, it was not for Buchanan, who lived on her bounty, to expose her faults. The envy of Elizabeth, the policy of Cecil, and the rivalry of Murray, might have found other pens to disperse their scandals. But, if it be true, that time has established the innocence of Mary; if it be true, that *the Detection* of Buchanan is founded in forgery; what shall we say of his gratitude, as a pensioner, or of his morals, as a man? *The Detection*, thus false, and scandalous, had ere long sunk into oblivion, but for the successive struggles of truth, to gain a decisive ascendancy, over the malignities of faction. But, Buchanan, being without gratitude, and without morals, executed a deeper design, with a more malicious purpose. If he

(e) It is certain, as the records prove, that the dean and Chapter of St. Andrew's appointed James Wilkie to be the successor of Buchanan, as principal of St. Leonard's, though Patrick Adamson had been destined to that office by the parliament, on the recommendation of Buchanan, when he resigned, in March 1569-70. Wilkie was admitted, and acted; but Adamson never was admitted, nor acted. I am obliged to Mr. Professor Barron for this important fact, who searched the university records for me.

deliberately transcribed into his History, (f) which, with his patrons, he hoped would be immortal, his malevolence, his falsehoods, and his forgeries, with the design of transmitting the disgrace of Mary to futurity, the question of his ingratitude, as it vanishes from our sight, in the blaze of his knavery, leaves us only to inquire, if Buchanan were not one of the most profligate of men, in a most profligate age. (g)

The

(f) The fact is, that large passages were literally transcribed by Buchanan, from his Detection into his History, as Ruddiman has remarked. [Animad. on Love's Vindication, p. 57.]

(g) I will give two striking examples of the gross profligacy of that reforming age. The first from a letter in the Paper-Office, dated at Edinburgh, the 12th October 1565, from Randolph, Queen Elizabeth's ambassador, in Scotland, to Sir William Cecil:—"By cawse of one thinge your H.[onour] shall not dowte, but knowe for certayne, that some wyfemen are ennemies to this government, as the great and noblemen the L.[aird] of Liddington is as farre in, in this matter as any other. Of the same band and league are the Earl Morton and L.[ord] Ruthen; theie onlye espye their tymes, and mayke fayer wether untyll yt come to the pinche. I here some good words spoken of the L.[ord] Ersken, but trust not myche untyll farther triall."—In this letter of Randolph, who was in the secret of those affairs, and was the cause of that profligacy, we see, that LIDDINGTON, the secretary of state, and MORTON, the chancellor, did not, with the bravery of Murray, run out into open rebellion: with a more fell design, they remained in the Queen's cabinet, in order to betray her. Liddington, not long after, forged the Queen's handwriting, with the purpose of convicting her of murder. Mor-

ton

The late writer of the Memoirs of Buchanan, expecting doubtless to cover his disgrace, under the artifice of recrimination, asserts, (*b*) “that
 “ Mr. Ruddiman is sometimes in the situation of
 “ attempting to make a reader believe, *what he*
 “ *does not believe himself.*” Yet, whatever may be our detractor’s zeal of calumny, he brings no proof of his charge. He does not produce a single passage, which Ruddiman wrote, and *did not believe himself.* Ruddiman was a man of piety; it is, therefore, improbable, that he would write what he did not himself believe. Ruddiman was a man of probity: it is, therefore, not to be credited, that he would propagate, what he did not himself
ton ere long assisted Darnley in assassinating Rizzio, and afterwards helped Bothwell to assassinate Darnley. When we behold the *chancellor*, and the *secretary of state*, acting with such aggravated profligacy, what ought to be said of the *morals of such an age?*

The *second* example is contained in a document, which I found in the *Paper Office*; and which proves, that “two men,
 “ the ane namyt Johnne Gibsonne, Scottishman, preacher,
 “ and the other Johnne Willokis, descendit of Scottish progenitors, now [the 22d April 1590,] baith lying in prisoun at
 “ Leycester, were *convicted by a jury of robbery.*”—This document is an application by Sir Robert Melville, and others, to Queen Elizabeth for the pardon of the *two convicts.* And see Keith’s History of the Church and State of Scotland, p. 64-88-101-104-128-145-491, for an account of John Willocks, who was the reforming coadjutor of John Knox.—The two examples, which I have now submitted to the reader, will, I flatter myself, sufficiently show, that the period, wherein Buchanan flourished, was a most profligate age.

(*b*) Lord Gardenstone’s Miscellanies, p. 257.

believe. And, Ruddiman acted, throughout a long life, upon the virtuous principle that,

“ Pulchra est concordia cordis et oris; ”

and so, was incapable of performing the profligate part, which is assigned him, by our dramatical manager of Buchanan's Memoirs.

When we see factiousness renew the censures of zeal, which had often brought calumny to her aid, it is natural to ask, who was Buchanan, whose witchery so long persecuted Ruddiman, whose influence now violates decorum, and whose name continually agitates contest. This question, however, can only be answered, by inspecting, with some minuteness, *the Life* of Buchanan, which has, indeed, been written, by various persons, though without any activity of diligence, or much attention, either to the authenticity of the incidents, or to the adjustment of the character.

Sir Robert Sibbald published, in 1702, the *Life*, which was certainly compiled by Sir Peter Young, and yet is still said to have been written by Buchanan himself, with a commentary, that supplied some circumstances, without forming any just estimate of his personal worth. (i) Ruddiman endeavoured to amend the old narrative,

(i) *Commentarius in Vitam Georgij Buchanani, ab ipsomet Scriptam.* Edinb. ex Typ. Geo. Mosman. An. 1702—12°. There is a print prefixed, by James Clark, which represents Buchanan, as very old, and very ugly.

by

by ascertaining dates, and to continue the biographical story, by adding subsequent events. Yet, he left much to be done by future biographers, and something to be contested by succeeding bigots, who have generally been too much engaged in controversy, to find leisure for any wide search for additional facts; and too fond of admiration, to be able to form an accurate judgment of his genuine character. (k)

From the foregoing considerations, it should seem, that the question, *who was Buchanan*, may

(k) Early in the present century, George Crawford, the well-known writer of *the Officers of State*, addressed, “Proposals to the gentlemen of the surname of Buchanan, for writing, and publishing, the life of the learned, and celebrated, historian Mr. George Buchanan, who *was director of the chancery*, and lord privy seal of Scotland.” He wrote the Life, of which I have extracts; but, he seems not to have received any encouragement to publish it. There were given out at Glasgow, on the 20th of April 1751, printed proposals for printing, by subscription, the Life of the learned and celebrated historian, and antiquary, George Buchanan; by the late George Crawford, esq. historiographer; but, it would seem, with no better success. Strange! that Crawford, who had made so much inquiry about *the Officers of State*, should have been of opinion with the vulgar, that Buchanan had ever been *the Director of the chancery*. Crawford, however, claims the honour of being the first, who discovered “Buchanan’s parentage, which had never before been discovered;” and which, after all his researches, he did not precisely ascertain. Were we to ask the latest biographer of Buchanan, *who his father was reputed to be*, he could not tell.

even now be properly asked, though it cannot be satisfactorily answered, without some research. And, I presumed to think, that while useful truths might be lastingly fixed, the fame of Rudiman might be somewhat freed from detraction, if I were to give a new narrative of the life of Buchanan, by adjusting the old circumstances, and adding, at the same time, such supplementary anecdotes, as chance might offer, or diligence collect.

George Buchanan was the third son of a younger brother, who was of a family rather genteel, than opulent. The first, and the last, of his biographers, forgot to mention either the condition, or the name of his father: yet, is Buchanan's father known to have been Thomas Buchanan, who acquired the lands of *Moss*, and was the *second* son of Thomas Buchanan, the first of Drummakill. (1) George Buchanan's mother was Agnes, the daughter of James Heriot

(1) There had been some uncertainty, with regard to the parentage of Buchanan till the year 1723, when William Buchanan of Auchmar first published, "An historical and genealogical Essay upon the Family and Surname of Buchanan." Crawford, the genealogist, had stated the father of Buchanan, to have been Thomas, the *eldest* son, and *heir* of Thomas Buchanan, the first of Drummakill, by Geils Cunninghame, the daughter of Cunninghame of Drumquahassel. But, William Buchanan proves decisively from a charter that he had lately perused, among Drummakill's Evidences, that Buchanan's father was the *second* son of Thomas. [Hist. Essay, p. 87-8.] The point, then, is at length incontrovertibly settled.

of Trabrown. He was born in the parish of Killearne, within the shire of Lenox, (*m*) in the month of February 1506. His father died, while he was yet a child; leaving a ruined fortune, and a widow, with five sons, and three daughters. His uncle, James Heriot, sent young Buchanan to Paris, for his education, in 1520, after he had shewn his genius, in the schools of his native country. But, the death of his uncle, the want of health, and the deficiency of supplies, obliged Buchanan to return home, in 1522, at the age of sixteen.

Being now without employment, and without money, he enlisted as a soldier, among the French auxiliaries, who were conducted to Scotland by the Duke of Albany, in 1523. But, a winter's campaign, in a rugged climate, mended neither his fortune, nor his health.

He was, soon after, sent, though I know not by what agent, to the university of St. Andrew's,

(*m*) Timothy Pont paid an involuntary compliment to Buchanan, when he compiled the map of the county of Lenox, which was published at Amsterdam, in 1662, by Blaeu. The geographer distinguished *The Moss*, as *Buchanani patria*, on the left bank of the rivulet Blain, about three miles above its junction with the river Ainrick. Below is *Ibbert*, on the right bank of the Ainrick, at the distance of two miles from Loch-Lomond, into which it runs. And, higher up on the same bank of this river, but more distant from it, is Drumna-kill. Such were the seats of the Buchanans, with whom *Buchanan* was connected!

wherein he was matriculated, in 1524. (*n*) Here, was his person noticed, his genius recognized, and his want supplied, by John Major, who was then a professor in St. Saviour's college, and assessor to the Dean of Arts. (*o*) In October 1525, when Buchanan, was not yet twenty years of age, he obtained, in this university, the degree of Bachelor of Arts. (*p*) It detracts nothing from the talents of Buchanan, that he was educated as a *pauper*. Major, returning to France, during the summer of 1526, carried Buchanan with him. He now placed the object of his kindness in what is at present called *the Scotch College of Paris*, which, at that time, had to boast of professors, who were profoundly learned, and of students, who successively displayed uncommon erudition. Irvine, who did not very diligently ascertain the amount of the favours, which had been conferred by Major on Buchanan,

(*n*) Sibbald's Commentary, p. 65.

(*o*) M'Kenzie's Life of Major, vol. 2, p. 342. Irvine's Nomenclatura: The word *Major*.

(*p*) On the 3d of October 1525, George Buchanan appears in the list of Bachelors of Arts, on the Faculty Register, with the letter P. subjoined to his name. This entry, with the significant letter P. was made by the keeper of the Register, at the time. The P. denotes that he was a pauper, or a bursar. For this entry, and other accurate information, I am indebted to the active kindness of Mr. professor Barron, who searched the University Registers for me.

has

has yet reprobated with unqualified indignation, the ingratitude of Buchanan, who, after enjoying the patronage of Major, wrote contemptuously of his talents, by applying, with an allusion to his name, the well-known sarcasm, *Solo Cognomine Major*. (*q*) Buchanan, mean while, entered on his studies, with the ardour, which was natural to him. And, on the 10th of October 1527, he was admitted, in this college, to the degree of Bachelor of Arts; as he had already obtained the same degree, in the university of St. Andrew's. (*r*) Academic honours now fell fast upon him. In March 1528, when he was advanced into the twenty-second year of his age, he obtained the degree of Master of Arts. On the 5th of May 1529, he entered into competition with George Draipier, a German, *de procuratorio munere*: (*s*) But, Buchanan's countryman, Robert Wauchop, who had successively obtained, by his merit, every honour, which the university could bestow, (*t*) was, on that occasion, elected *nonâ vice*,

(*q*) Nomenclatura: The word *Major*.

(*r*) An. 1527, die 10^a. Mensis Octobris, Georgius Buchananus, Dioecesis Glasguensis, admissus fuit ad gradum Baccalaureatus, quem adeptus erat antea in Universitate S. Andreae.—[Register of the Scots Coll. of that date.]

(*s*) The same Register of those dates.

(*t*) M'Kenzie's Lives, vol. 2. the preface p. vii. and the Register of the 5th of May 1529.

says

says the Register. Upon his return to Paris, in 1526, Buchanan was soon suspected of Lutheranism. Yet, he gained the object of his wishes, on the third of June 1529, when he was chosen *Procurator Nationis*. (u) It was about this time, probably, that he began to teach grammar, in the college of St. Barbe.

Mean time, Buchanan was entertained by Gilbert, Earl of Cassilis, whom, for five years, he either pleased by his wit, or instructed by his knowledge. It was, during this intercourse of pleasure and advantage, that Buchanan translated Linacre's grammar from the English into Latin, which he printed at Paris, in 1533, and which, being the first of his works, that was sent from the press into the *world*, he dedicated to the Earl of Cassilis, his pupil, with whom he returned to Scotland, in 1534.

Lord Cassilis, at this time, carried Buchanan with him into the country, where the poet indulged his own temper, and pleased his patrons by satirizing the monks. In return, they accused the satirist of libertinism. This did not, however, prevent James V. who was himself a poet, and a

(u) An. 1529, die 3^a Mensis Junij, M. Georgius Buchananus, Levinianus, Diocesis Glasguensis, electus fuit Procurator Nationis. [Extr. from the Coll. Reg.] For the curious, and satisfactory, extracts, from the Register of the Scotch college, at Paris, I owe a kindness, and the public an obligation, to Mr. Gordon, the principal.

libertine, from appointing Buchanan, during the summer of 1536, the instructor of his natural son, James, by Elizabeth Shaw, of the family of Sauchie, who was afterwards the Abbot of Kelso, and died without issue, in 1548. (x) While thus employed, he was commanded by the King, it is said, to write more severe strictures on the Franciscans, who, having offended their sovereign, gave the King an opportunity of gratifying his spleen, at the expence of his policy. The poet, on that occasion, produced, in an evil hour for his own quiet, the miscellany, which was afterwards entitled *The Franciscan*. The whole body of the clergy, who saw a storm approaching, were offended at what they deemed an unprovoked attack. Cardinal Beaton exerted his power to avenge their cause. The poet was imprisoned in the castle of St. Andrew's, from which, he was delivered by the interposition of Beaton, a nephew of the Archbishop of Glasgow. (y) Buchanan, fearing for his life, though the purpose had probably been, to correct his petulance, more than to injure his person, made his escape, in February 1538-9, to England; where he found Henry VIII. persecuting, with peculiar impar-

(x) Crawford's History of the Stuarts, p. 38. It was not, then, James Stuart, the regent, whom Buchanan had the honour of instructing, as Sibbald, Ruddiman, and the other biographers, have mistakingly related.

(y) Jebb, vol. 2. p. 486.

tiality, both the Protestants and Papists. In this extremity, the poet was protected by Sir John Rainsford, who enabled him to make his retreat into France. (z) At Paris, he is said, contradictorily, by the original writer of his life, to have met his old persecutor the Cardinal, who had gone there as ambassador from Scotland. And, Buchanan, fearing for his safety at Paris, was induced, to accept the invitation of Andrew Govea, who made him one of the teachers, in the new college at Bourdeaux. Here, was he instructing scholars, and writing poems, when the Emperor Charles V. came, there in November 1539, to whom he presented very elegant flattery, in some charming verses.

At Bourdeaux, he taught for three years; and in this period, he composed his four tragedies, with the design, as it is said, to draw the youth of France, from modern allegories to ancient models. Being frightened from his elegant, and useful, labours, by the plague, he returned, in 1544, to Paris, where he taught, for several years, the second class, in the college of Bourbon. It

(z) Randolph's Letter to Peter Young, 15th March 1579-80, Epist. Buch. Op. Rud. edit.—That part of the Life of Buchanan, from his return to Scotland, with the Earl of Cassilis, till his escape, is so grossly misrepresented, that it would require much time, and space, to rectify the mistatements, and explode the falsities. The only defence, which the fair inquirer after truth has against falshood, is not to believe improbabilities, without proof.

was,

was, probably, during this period, that Buchanan acted as one of the domestic tutors of Montaigne.

At the age of forty-one, he accepted the invitation of the King of Portugal, by means of Andrew Govea, with whom going to Lisbon, in 1547, he was appointed one of the professors, in the new college of Coimbra. He lost his friend Govea by the stroke of death, in 1548. The times were turbulent, and our professor was imprudent: he ate, and he talked, in a manner, that offended the prejudices of the country. For these offences, he was, in 1549, committed to prison, where he lay a year and a half; and whence he was only released to be sent to a monastery, in the cells of which, he might learn of the monks the use of observances, and the benefits of silence. It was in this confinement, that he began to translate the Psalms into such a version as will preserve his memory, when his other writings shall be no longer read.

Being at length discharged, he was maintained awhile by the King's bounty. But, wishing for independence, or desiring change, he sailed, in 1552, for England, which being then too much convulsed, by the ambition of nobles, to afford him a livelihood, he went to Paris, soon after the raising of the siege of Metz, on the 26th of December 1552. During an age, when every battle

tle had its poet, this event, he was induced to celebrate in a poem, which he wrote unwillingly; knowing that his friend Sangelafius had already, on the same topick, exercised his happy muse.

In July 1554, he sent his Jephthes to the press. (*a*) This fine tragedy, he dedicated to the Marechal de Brissac, who was, by this attention, induced to employ Buchanan, as the teacher of his son, Timoleon de Cossé, who rose to be an accomplished gentleman, and a great commander. In the situation of tutor, our poet continued, during five years, going with his pupil sometimes into Italy, and frequently into France. In this station it was, that he wrote his learned poem on the Sphere. He found leisure, during these peregrinations, for studying polemics, which furnished topicks of present correspondence, and supplied motives of future action.

He probably fixed his residence at Paris, in 1560, but without any certain subsistence. In this distress, he naturally applied to Queen Mary, who, with her usual munificence, accepted his verses, and relieved his wants. (*b*) Being now without employment, he, at the end of four-and

(*a*) Jephthes five votum Tragoedia, Authore Georgio Buchanano, Scoto. Parisijs M.D.LIIII. Apud Guil. Morelium.

(*b*) Mem. of Castelnau, in Jebb, vol. 2. p. 486.

twenty years, returned to Scotland, some time in 1561, at the age of fifty-five, but without having any permanent provision. (c)

On his return to Scotland, in 1561, Buchanan had the gratification to find, that his old enemy the cardinal had been assassinated, the Franciscans expelled, and that the reformers were triumphant. He

(c) At what time Buchanan finally returned to Scotland, has been a subject of dispute. Ruddiman cogently reasoned, "That, as he asserts himself to have been absent four-and-twenty years, and departed, in 1539, he must have come back in 1563." But, reasonings must give way to facts. The subjoined extract of an original letter, in the paper-office, from the well-known envoy, Thomas Randolph, to Mr. Secretary Cecil, dated at Edinburgh, the 30th January 1561, demonstrates, that Buchanan was certainly at the court of Mary, in January 1561-2, and had been probably in Scotland, for some months before:—"Yt is nowe thoughte upon agayne whoe is fetteste to be sent from thys Quene t'attende upon the Quene's Matie for the better contynuanee of intellegence wth her Hyghnes. Of anye that I knowe David Forreste is lyklyeste, and mooste desyerethe. He is restored agayne unto his office. Ther is wth the Quene, one called Mr. George Bowhanan, a Scottishe man, verie well lerned, that was schollemaster unto Mons^r de Brisack's sone, very godlye, and honest, whome I have allwayes judged fether than anye other that I know."—Our great poet was then only *one* Bowhanan, who had been a *scholle-master*, and was *very well learned*. But, Randolph and Buchanan soon became better acquainted. I incline to think, with Mr. John Love, that Buchanan returned to Scotland, in May 1561, with the Lord James, the prior of St. Andrew's, who ere long became the Earl of Murray, and the patron of Buchanan. [*Vindication*, p. 61.]

only

only followed his inclination, when he joined the popular throng, and avowed his unqualified protestantism. Yet, he attended the court of Mary, who had also returned to her native kingdom, in August 1561; and, was by Mary, chosen soon after to be the superintendant of her studies. (d) He was naturally noticed by parliament, when he was thus distinguished by the Queen. The parliament, which assembled at Edinburgh, in June 1563, appointed Buchanan, among other persons, who were either high in office, or noted for knowledge, “to inspect the revenues of the universities, and to report a model of instruction.” He was by the assembly of the kirk, named, on the 29th of December 1563, among those, who were most considerable for rank, or eminent for literature, “to revise the Book of Discipline.” (e) And, in June 1564, he dedicated his *Franciscanus ad Fratres* to the Earl of Murray, whose power he knew, and whose patronage he courted.

The foregoing events did not check the bene-

(d) This anecdote is contained in the following extract of a letter from Randolph to Cecil, dated at St. Andrew's, the 7th of April 1562, in the Paper Office:—“The Queen readeth daily, after her dinner, instructed by a learned man Mr. George Bowhannan, somewhat of Lyvie.”—This transaction did honour to both parties: to Mary, in thus employing her leisure: to Buchanan, in having such a scholar to instruct, in the beauties of Livy.

(e) Keith, 529.

ficence

ficence of Mary, which was only bounded by her fortune. On the 19th of October 1564, the Queen gave the poet a pension of five hundred pounds Scots, during his life. In fact, she conferred, on the object of her bounty, the whole temporalities of the abbey of Corragwell, (f) after the abbot, Quintin Kennedy, who was the brother of his old scholar, the Earl of Cassilis, had been driven away, in 1563, by persecution. From the epoch of that munificent grant, Buchanan called himself, in his official documents, *the pensioner of Corragwell*. (g) Crawford comforts himself, by reflecting, that other great men, who had obtained grants of ecclesiastical revenues, were also called *pensioners*. If we recollect, that the highest stipend of the Protestant ministers was then only three hundred marks, this must be allowed to have been a handsome provision for a needy poet. (h) When he was about to publish his Psalms, in 1565, having the Queen's bounty fresh in his recollection, he dedicated that

(f) Keith, p. 259.—Ruddiman, as we have seen, published *the letter of Privy Seal*, containing the pension. [Animad. on Buch. Vindic. Apx. No. 1.]

(g) Sibbald's Commentary, p. 20.

(h) The Scots money was, at that time, as six to one of the English. [Keith's Apx. 118.]

fine version to his royal benefactress, in those elegant verses, beginning:

“ Nympha, Caledoniæ quæ nunc feliciter oræ

“ Miffa per innumeros fceptra tueris avos.”

Buchanan, who then refided at St. Andrew's, was in future to exhilarate the gaieties, or to participate in the difasters, of his country. He prefented verses to the Queen on her marriage, the 29th of July 1565. (*i*) He offered his *Strena* to Darnley, at the commencement of the year 1566. (*k*) And, when Murray, his patron, having acted rebelliously, was denounced a rebel; when the adherents of that ambitious bastard were threatened with punishment, if they should disturb the country; Buchanan probably thought it prudent, at the verge

(*i*) In Keith, 540, there is a record, which proves, that Buchanan then lived at St. Andrew's. He was at Edinburgh on the 24th of July 1566, when he wrote to Peter Daniel, *amid the occupations of the court, and the inconvenience of sickness*; complaining of the typographical errors of his Psalms; and fending him copies of his poems.

(*k*) It was acutely remarked by Ruddiman, that it is evident from *the Strena*, Buchanan was in Scotland, on the 1st of January 1565-6. [Animad. 63.] By confidering this, and the fact mentioned in the preceding note, I have convinced myself, that Buchanan never removed to France, after the year 1561; though I once thought, that he had returned to Paris, when Murray was expelled from Scotland, in September 1565.

of sixty, to court the ruling powers. Murray and his other friends were, however, restored, on the 29th of April 1566, after being driven from Scotland, by the disingenuity of Elizabeth, and the disapprobation of their countrymen. Buchanan was, about that time, appointed the principal of St. Leonard's College at St. Andrew's, which had been founded by James Hepburn, the prior, in August 1512. In that university he was successively chosen one of the four electors of the rector, during the years 1566, 1567, and 1568, and was even appointed vice-rector by the object of their choice. (1).

Mean time the murder of Rizzio, on the 29th of March 1565-6, the assassination of Darnley, on the 10th of February 1566-67, and the marriage of Mary with Bothwell, on the 16th of May 1567, were sad events, which successively influenced Buchanan's future fortunes. The general assembly of the kirk was convened at Edinburgh, on the 25th of June 1567, just ten days after the Queen's imprisonment. At the age of sixty-one, Buchanan was unanimously chosen the moderator, who accepted the charge *pro hac*

(1) Buchanan was chosen, on the 3d of November 1567, one of the assessors of the Dean of Faculty of Arts, who was to assist him, in taking trials for degrees. And he was chosen assessor for the last time, on the 2d of November 1569; as appears by the University Registers. [Sibbald's Commentary, 65.] But, it does not appear, that Buchanan, during that period, taught a class.

vice, says therecord. (*m*) The biographers, who find conjecture more easy than research, have thought it somewhat extraordinary, that Buchanan, though a layman, should have been appointed the moderator of the assembly. But, the registers of the kirk would have shewn them, that Sir John Erskine of Dun, knight, though a layman, was chosen the moderator of the several assemblies, which commenced on the 25th of December 1564, on the 25th of June 1566, and on the 25th of December 1566. (*n*) At the formation of the kirk, in 1560, the moderators, and ministers, were all laymen. Erskine, however, was a superintendant, and Buchanan was the principal of a college. The assembly, of which Buchanan was *the moderator*, seeing “that this present has
“ offerit some bettir occasioun nor in tymes by-
“ gane, and hes begune to tred down Sathan
“ under foot,” [Queen Mary had been imprisoned ten days before] called an extraordinary convention, whereby, in the end, were produced the confusions of anarchy, and the miseries of civil war. (*o*)

(*m*) Keith, 572.

(*n*) Keith, 498—548. “The general assemblie of the
“ kirk convenit at Edinburgh, in the Nether Tolbuith
“ thereof, the 25th day of June 1567; for eschewing of con-
“ fusioun in reasoning, nameit Mr. George Buchanan,
“ Principall of Sant Leonard’s Colledge, moderator, during
“ the conventioun, who accepted the charge *hac vice*.”
[Keith, 572.]

(*o*) Keith, p. 275.

When

When Buchanan became the moderator of the assembly, he commenced the drudge of a party, with which he drudged on through life. On the 24th of July 1567, the imprisoned Queen was compelled to resign the crown to her infant son, and with it, her power to her implacable enemies. On an unlucky day, she was driven to seek refuge in England, the 17th of May 1568. Murray was required by Elizabeth, on the 8th of the following month, to answer, in England, Mary's complaints. He, Morton, and others, were accordingly appointed commissioners, for that purpose, on the 18th of September 1568. The talents, and the principles, of Buchanan recommended him, as a fit assistant. And, they all met Elizabeth's commissioners at York, on the 4th of the subsequent October.

Here it was, that Buchanan was employed in deceitful intrigue. On the 10th of October, it was, that with Lethington, Macgill, and Balnaves, Buchanan, in order to prejudice Elizabeth's commissioners, communicated privately, the well-known letters, *sonnets*, and contracts, which he asserted were of Mary's hand-writing. Now it was, that Buchanan offered to swear,—“ that the said letters, *sonnets*, and other writings, “ were of her own hand indeed,” though he did not know them to be her's; in order to convict his benefactress of murder. (*p*) It was in

(*p*) See the letter of the English commissioners in Goodal's Apx. No. 47. for decisive proof of this fact.

the period between the 18th of September, and the 20th of October 1568, that Buchanan drew up the first sketch of his *Detection*, by order of the Scottish commissioners; (*p*) for the purpose of loading his sovereign with guilt. In the *Detection* it was, that he published the fabricated, for the genuine, letter of Lennox. (*q*) The infamous scene of those unfair transactions was at length shifted from York to Hampton Court.

Buchanan went, in October 1568, to Westminster, where his talent for intrigue, and his readiness of accommodation, were still more necessary. Here, were the conferences again renewed by Elizabeth, with her wonted artifice, and carried on by Murray, with yet greater baseness. It was on the 10th of December 1568, that Murray and his colleagues formally declared, "on their honours and consciences, that the missive writings, sonnets, and contracts, were Mary's proper hand-write;" though they knew the letters and sonnets to be forgeries. (*r*). It was, during the subsequent conferences at Westminster, that Murray and his colleagues exhibited Buchanan's *Detection*, in the first draft, as matter, which they offered to justify before Eliza-

(*p*) Anderson's Collections, vol. 2. p. 262-3.

(*q*) Mr. Whitaker's Vindication, vol. 3. p. 235-7.

(*r*) See their affidavit in Anderson's Collections, vol. 2. 259—and in Goodal's Apx. No. 24. vol. 2. p. 92.

beth and her ministers. (s) Buchanan, in this manner, became the willing instrument of Elizabeth's deceit, and Murray's villanies; in order to disgrace his benefactress. On the 11th of January 1568-9, Buchanan appeared at Hampton Court, with Murray and his colleagues, face to face with the Bishop of Ross and Mary's other commissioners, who accused Murray and his associates of being the murderers of Darnley; and who offered to support their accusation by proofs. In this transaction, which has stained Scotland with lasting reproach, Buchanan acted his part and shared in the disgrace. (t) On the next day, Murray, notwithstanding this accusation, was by the cunning of Elizabeth sent away to Scotland, and, by the hatred of Elizabeth, was Mary detained in prison!

In the midst of those iniquitous proceedings, Buchanan bestowed his blandishments on the court of London. He offered, on the 1st of January 1568-9, a *New Year's Ode* to Elizabeth, in which, with poetic licence, he gave her the mind of Minerva, and the form of Venus. He flattered the wife, and daughter, of Cecil, with several copies of appropriate verses. He presented an encomiastic sonnet to Anthony Coke and his learned daughters. (u) Whether Bu-

(s) Anderson's Collections, vol. 2. 263.

(t) See the record in Goodal's Apx. No. 122. vol. 2. 307.

(u) Rud. Buch. vol. 2. 95-6.

chanan were dismissed with a solid pension for his empty praise, I think uncertain, notwithstanding the assertions of biographers, (x) who too often believe, without cause, and assert, without proofs.

Buchanan returned to St. Andrew's, in April 1569; (y) and now performed the more quiet functions of St. Leonard's College. On the 2d of November 1569, he was appointed, for the last time, assessor to the Dean of the Faculty of Arts. And, in March 1569-70, he resigned the office of principal to Patrick Adamson, who appears, from the records, to have never acted, though he had been recommended by Buchanan, and was approved by the parliament. It was at the convention of estates, which assembled at Edinburgh, in March 1569-70, "for taking order" in the affairs of this common wealth," that Buchanan was permitted to resign his charge in the university, with the design of dedicating his whole attention to King James, who had entered the fifth year of his age. The nomination of Buchanan to this great trust was not by the states, as biographers have supposed; (z) for,

(x) Mackenzie's Life of Buchanan, which quotes the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum. Notes to Scot's *Staggering State of Scotch Statesmen*, p. 110.—Mackenzie is not justified by the Cotton Manuscripts; yet, he may have received presents for his poetry, like Erasmus, and the other poets of that profligate period.

(y) Sibbald's Commentary, 66.

(z) See the record in Ruddiman's Notes on Buchanan's Life, 9.

he

he had been already nominated preceptor, in 1565, if we may believe his own assertion. (a) And thus, does Buchanan himself ascertain the disputed fact, that he was certainly nominated preceptor by the Queen herself, at some period prior to the sad epoch of her extorted abdication; (b) though the exact date cannot at present be clearly ascertained.

Buchanan was meantime deprived of his patron, the earl of Murray, by a stroke of revenge from the hand of Hamilton, by which he fell, on the 8th of January 1569-70. Buchanan wrote his epitaph and panegyrick with a grateful pen. And, our poet and politician gave vent to unqualified indignation, by writing "*Ane Admonition Direct to the trew Lordis.*" (c) This is a party-pamphlet,

(a) Buchanan says expressly in his history, [Rud. Buch. vol. 1. 386.] "Ut ex ijs, quos *mater*, antequam se regno abdicarat, filio tutores, nominaverat."

(b) In the commission, which appointed Thomas Buchanan the keeper of the privy seal, when George Buchanan his uncle resigned in his favour, there is the following recital:—"That o' So^rane Lord understanding ye trew and thankful service done to his maj^t^e be his weill belovit clerk Mr. George Buchquhannan, pensionar of Corragwell, continually sen his hienes coronatioun alsweill in instructing of his majestie in virtue and letteres as uyerwyis upon his person." [Record Privy Seal, 30 April 1578. B k. 45. fo. 57.]

(c) It was first printed by Robert Leckprevick, in 12mo. at Stirling, 1571: it was printed, at London, by John Day,
in

phlet, compiled in party language, and for party purposes. He thereby endeavoured to turn the resentment of man, and the wrath of God, upon the whole race of Hamilton. Of course, his tract, which was printed in 1571, was written in the accustomed spirit of recrimination, without candour, or moderation, or truth.

The death of Murray, which was regretted by Elizabeth with indecent sorrow, was the cause of interesting events, which gave employment to the talents, and diversity to the life, of Buchanan. The Earl of Lennox was, after some delay, chosen regent, in the room of Murray, by Queen Elizabeth's influence. In his turn, Lennox was ere long killed, during the assault of Stirling. The Earl of Mar was soon elected to that dangerous station, in the place of Lennox. Buchanan, we are told by Crawford, was as great a favourite of Mar, as he had been of Murray. When Mar died, in October 1572, the Earl of Morton was elected his successor, who was the fourth regent, that in the short period of five years had now held that precarious office. A civil war raged, for many months, with the peculiar rancour of the Scottish feuds. Men's minds had been already corrupted by the violences of the Reformation.

in 1571; and, again, at St. Andrew's, in 1572, 12mo: whence we may infer, that it was propagated with great diligence, by those, who hoped to profit from its influence.

And,

And, conspicuous characters, who had sacrificed their morals on the altar of innovation, had an easy step from Mary to her son, from regent to regent, from the consistency of principle to the tergiversations of vice.

In the foremost rank of devious statesmen, must be placed, with unrivalled pre-eminence, Maitland of Lethington. It was this extraordinary genius, who, having been secretary of state to the unhappy Queen, continually betrayed her to Elizabeth; who secretly promoted the rebellion against his sovereign, in 1565; and who proceeded to the summit of wickedness, in forging his mistress's hand-writing, for the odious purpose of convicting her of the crime of aggravated murder. It was he, who acted as an underhand agent with Buchanan, for imposing on the English commissioners, at York. It was he, who offered himself, at that disgraceful moment, to swear with Buchanan to the genuineness of his own fabrications. But, after the decease of Murray, he attempted to bind up the bleeding wounds of his country. The moment, however, that he began to act honestly, Buchanan fell upon him. The satirist exposed the shifts of the statesman in *The Chamælion*, which he wrote, during the summer of 1570, and soon sent to Cecil, among whose papers, it was afterwards found. This satire, though composed in prose, is written with all the ingenuity of poetry; yet

yet is it embittered by its invective, and degraded by its coarseness. (*d*)

An attempt was mean time made, during the autumn of 1570, to stop the effusion of kindred blood, by a treaty, which Elizabeth was to manage, for her own interest, with her accustomed artifice. She summoned all parties to appear before her at London. Morton, Dumfermling, and Macgill, came to the court at Greenwich, on the 9th of February 1570-71, on behalf of the infant King. They gave in a paper, says Cecil, to prove the lawfulness of dethroning Queen Mary (*e*) The act of dethronement gratified Elizabeth; but the justification of it displeased her. In the moment of discontent, she might have told them, in her own imperious tone: "It is true, gentlemen, that every nation, when acting by its constitutional authorities, may exert a valid power over all persons, and all things, within its jurisdiction. But, it is not every leader of a mob; it is not every body of dissidents, whatever their pretences may be; it is not every faction of nobles, whatever may be their motives, who can rightfully overturn the constitution, or over-awe the magistrate." The treaty ended in disappointment; because it had been

(*d*) It seems not to have been printed in that age.

(*e*) Cecil's Diary, which is annexed to Murden's papers.

begun without sincerity, and was conducted without fairness, to any national purpose.

The flame of civil war broke out anew, when fresh fuel was thrown on it, by disappointed hopes, by factious resentments, and by seditious writings. Dunbarton Castle, which had hitherto continued in the charge of Mary's governor, was surprized by the dexterity of Captain Crawford, in March 1571. In it, was taken, among other persons of great consideration, Hamilton, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, who had sought shelter in this insulated fortress, soon after the battle of Langside. He was immediately carried to Stirling; where he was tried for imputed crimes, which could not be proved, and condemned under an act of attainder, that had been passed at one of the irregular conventions, during those tumultuous days. On the first of April 1571, he was hanged as a common malefactor; (f) to gratify at once the personal hatred of the regent Lennox, and the religious prejudices of a bigotted populace.

Buchanan indulged the dark passions of his soul, by writing the Archbishop's epitaph. (g) "The poet begins, by informing us," says the late writer of his Memoirs, (h) "that our pa-

(f) Spotswood, p. 252.

(g) Rud. Buch. vol. 2. p. 86.

(h) Lord Gardenstone's Miscellanies, p. 267.

“ rent Earth now breathes lighter since delivered
 “ from the burden of such an abominable mon-
 “ ster ; that all the angels of darkness have been
 “ fatigued in preparing for his reception ; and
 “ that every other department of perdition now
 “ stands still ; the whole tortures of Tartarus be-
 “ ing devoted to a single victim. After pausing
 “ with complacency on this charitable prospect,
 “ he concludes, by professing his regret, that the
 “ Primate’s carcase had not been cast to the
 “ dogs.”—Such was Buchanan’s savageness ; and
 such is our paraphrast’s malignity ! (i)

Were prose entitled to the personifications of
 poetry, we might, with a prosaic pencil, also at-
 tempt an historical picture.—Thus, we behold
 the poet, and his paraphrast, collecting the dogs
 from the shambles of Stirling : they hound them
 upon the Archbishop’s corpse. The limbs of a
 person of the highest rank, who had been mur-
 dered under the form of law, are torn in pieces.
 The dogs gorge themselves with the blood of the
 Primate, who had fallen a sacrifice to religious
 bigotry. The poet and his paraphrast enjoy the
 sight : they partake of the prey. With the bru-
 tal ferocity of French Democrats, they fix their

(i) The late Lord Hailes remarks, in his Catalogue of
 the Lords of Session, notes, p. 4. “The tragical fate of
 “ Archbishop Hamilton, in 1571, is well-known. Buchanan,
 “ in several satirical epigrams, speaks of the manner of his
 “ death with the most illiberal, and savage, exultation.”

fangs in the Archbishop's heart: they tear out the Primate's bowels: and, stained with gore, and gasping with fury, they run through the streets of Stirling; inciting the populace, with frantic cries, to make new sacrifices, and to praise God for the past!

But, neither the inveteracy of the regent, nor the brutality of the poet, put an end to civil discord, though the insult offered to the Primate may have gratified both. The parliament, which Lennox assembled, during May 1571, in the Cannongate of Edinburgh, sat only four days; because the cannon of the castle played upon the convention. In this short period, however, this meeting of partizans passed various acts of attainder, (k) which only embittered personal animosity. Among other persons of inferior consequence, Maitland of Lethington, and his brother John, the prior of Coldingham, who was the keeper of the privy-seal, were attainted. This office had been long enjoyed by that accomplished family. Sir Richard Maitland, the father of Lethington, who is now better known as a poet, and a collector of poetry, had been appointed for life, on the 20th of December 1562. This aged statesman resigned the privy-seal to his son John, who was also appointed the keeper for life, on the 26th of August 1567. The attainder of the

(k) Spotswood, p. 253.

prior of Coldingham, and the favour of the regent, transferred the privy-seal to the custody of Buchanan, in May 1571, (1) who was at length rewarded for his steady attachment to party, and for his recent services to Lennox:

When Buchanan was thus appointed the keeper of the privy-seal, which gave him a participation in the government, and an addition to his income, he had passed his grand climacteric, and was advancing fast to sixty-six. Yet, he continued his correspondence with the scholars of the age; with Rogerfon and Daniel, with Beza and Tycho Brahe. And, he partook of the shocks, both personal and political, which the quick succession of regents gave to his distracted country; by the death of Lennox, in 1571; and the appointment of Mar, his successor; by the death of Mar, and the elevation of Morton to the regency, in November 1572. But the leisure, which his various avocations allowed, and the repose, that the gout permitted, was employed on *The History of Scotland*, which, having been long expected, was wishfully looked for by those,

(1) Crawford's Officers of State, p. 142. I, however, have a MS. note of George Crawford, which says, that Buchanan was appointed to the office of keeper of the privy-seal, on the 19th of October 1570. The most diligent search could not find the appointment of Buchanan to that high office among the records. He may have possibly been appointed, during those irregular times, even before the attainder of Maitland.

who,

who, having urged the undertaking, expected renown from his performance.

He was employed, at the same time, in other labours. The assembly, which met, in August 1574, “willed their *loved brethren*, George Buchanan, Peter Young, Andrew Melvin, and James Lawson, to peruse *the History of Job*, which had been compiled in Latin verse by Patrick Adamson; and to authorize it by their signatures, if they should find it agreeable to the truth of scripture.” The silence of the *Typographical Annals*, on this subject, would seem to evince, that Buchanan and his *loved brethren* did not authorize Adamson’s *Poetical History of Job*. (*m*)

Mean time, the malversations of Morton’s government roused the public indignation. Whether his rapacity, or his misrule, offended Buchanan, cannot now be known, though these questions have been much debated by those, who wished rather to confound, than inform. It is certain, that the influence of Buchanan contributed to the regent’s fall, and to the King’s elevation, while he was yet an infant, on the 12th of March

(*m*) The whole works of Adamson were printed at London, by John Bill, 1619, 4to.—Lauder published, in 1739, among the *Poetarum Scotorum Musæ Sacræ*, vol. 2, p. 209, *Paraphrasis Jobi Poetica: Auctore Patricio Adamsono, Sancti Andree, in Scotia, Archiepiscopo. Editio altera.*

1577-78. (u) Buchanan hastened to derive an advantage from this revolution, in the castle of Stirling, and from that influence of his station. On the 30th of April 1578, (o) he resigned the privy-seal to his nephew Thomas Buchanan, the eldest son of Alexander Buchanan of Ibbert, who was appointed for life, in his uncle's room, during that moment of perturbation, and anarchy. Yet, was George Buchanan vulgarly considered, as the keeper of the privy-seal, during several months, after it had thus been transferred to Thomas Buchanan, the object of his choice, who died in November 1582. (p)

Morton,

(u) Crawford's Mem. p. 330; Moyse's Mem. p. 2.

(o) Privy Seal Records of that date.

(p) The Scotch Dispatches, in the Paper Office, often mention him as keeper of the Privy-Seal, during the summer of 1578. I was induced by those papers to doubt the truth of the date of Buchanan's resignation, till I was assured by the accurate Mr. W. Robertson of the Register House, that the last day of April 1578 was certainly the true date. I afterwards saw in the Cotton Library, Calig. c. 3. fol. 530, A Confirmation of the Infestment to Robert Earl of Lenox, dated the 17th of June 1578, which was signed, among others, by Alexander Hay, the Director of the Chancery, and by Thomas Buchanan, the keeper of the privy-seal.—This record proves, that George Buchanan was neither the keeper of the privy-seal, nor the *Director of the Chancery*, on the 17th of June 1578. I have convinced myself, notwithstanding what is said by Scot in *The staggering State of Scots Statesmen* p. 120-160, and repeated by the biographers, *That Buchanan*
never

Morton, however, regained, by his artifice, possession of the castle of Stirling, and with it the control of the King's person, on the 24th of May 1578 : and, he was soon after reinstated in the government by Queen Elizabeth's influence. So odious was he, that he carried the vote of parliament, in July 1578, *Whether he should be of the King's council*, by a very small majority. Here is the state of the votes, which is very curious :

	For him.	Ag st him.
Bishops	4	4
Earls	4	4
Abbots	6	2
Lords	5	7
Burghs	4	5
George Buchanan, Privy Seal	0	1
The Comptroller	1	0
The Master of Forbes	1	0
	—	—
	25	23
	—	—

Mr.

never was the Director of the Chancery: for it appears from the records, that Alexander Livingston of Dunipace was appointed the Director of the Chancery *for life*, on the 26th of January 1548-9; and that there was no other appointment till the 15th of September 1567; when that office was granted to Alexander Hay; who resigned it to Robert Scot,

Mr. George Buchanan, who was still said to be the Privy Seal, though he had certainly resigned the office, voted for the sending of the Abbot of Dumfermling as ambassador to Queen Elizabeth, in June 1578. He was, in the subsequent month, enumerated as one of the King's ordinary council, being *Privy Seal*. Buchanan was, at the same time, considered, as one of those Scottish counsellors, who were *well affected* to England. There were transmitted from Scotland, to Burleigh, in July 1578, two lists, one of the *Biencontents*, at this present; and one of the *Malcontents*; and among the *Malcontents*, was "Mr. George Buchanan, *in respecte of the Erle Morton's cominge againe into the King's favour.*" Being no longer the keeper of the privy seal, and being thus a *Malcontent*, Buchanan ceased to have a vote in the government of his country, towards the end of 1578, though he still continued

some time between the 17th of June 1578, and March following, when Scot appears to have been clerk register. And Robert Scot resigned the office to his son Robert, on the 5th of March 1586-7. Buchanan returned to Scotland, in 1561. He was made pensioner of Corragwell, in 1564. He was appointed to be the principal of St. Leonard's College in 1566. And, he had the privy-seal delivered to him in 1570, or 1571. From the foregoing evidence it plainly appears, that he never could have been the *Director of the Chancery*, for which there is no authority but the loose assertion of Scot, a very loose writer.

to act as tutor to the King, and as a reformer of the state. (q)

The parliament of July 1578, with a view to both those characters, appointed Buchanan, with other men of learning and rank, to reform the seminary, from which he had derived the first of his literary honours. This parliament, with no deep insight into the nature, or the end of education, passed an act (r) “Anent the visitation of
“ universities;” which, said our reforming legislators, were then — “Sa fer alter it from the first institution, the maist pairt of the verie foundatiouns
“ sa fer disagreeing with the trew religioun and
“ sa fer different from that perfectioun of teaching
“ which this learnit age cravis.” During the heat of innovation, reformers seldom reflect, that their inconsiderate attempts generally infringe original trusts.

Yet, under that authority, the Earl of Lennox, Robert the Commendator of Dumfermling, *George Buchanan*, James Haliburton, and Peter Young, met at Edinburgh, in November 1579, and reformed the University of St. Andrew’s; so as “to
“ be mair proffittable in tyme coming to the glory
“ of God, honour of his majestie, profit of this

(q) I found the curious particulars, which are mentioned in this paragraph, among the Scotch dispatches in the paper-office.

(r) Parliament 1578, No. 4. of the unprinted acts.

“ common wealth, and guid upbringing of the
 “ youthe in sciences neidful for continewing of
 “ the trew religioun to all posteritie.” The act
 of this reform, which was plainly the work of
 Buchanan, will convince the reader, that his mind
 was chiefly occupied about what he deemed *the*
trew religioun; that he thought little about law,
 which secures rights; and less about science, that
 enlightens mankind. More sober legislators, by
 repealing, in 1621, this hasty act of innovation,
 re-established the university of St. Andrew's, on
 the high ground of its original foundation. (s)

The influence of Queen Elizabeth, and Mor-
 ton, appeared to be so inefficient, in the parlia-
 ment, 1578, that she seems to have resolved to
 sacrifice her love of money to her love of power.
 And, she finally determined to buy all, who, in
 Scotland, were deemed worthy of a bribe. In
 March 1579, Burleigh obtained, with this de-
 sign, accurate lists of the properest objects. He
 had an account “ Of persons, who were commend-
 “ ed by the Earl of Morton, when he was re-
 “ gent, as most meet to be entertained;” and—
 “ Of persons, who were also fit to have enter-
 “ tainment, though they were not recommended
 “ by the regent.” In a third list—“ Of per-
 “ sons, who were not commended by the regent,
 “ yet, by others thought meet to be entertain-

(s) See the APPENDIX, No. 1.

ed,"—were Mr. *George Buchanan*, the King's tutor, *a singular man*; and *Peter Young*, "another tutor to the King, specially well affected, and ready to persuade the King to be in favor of her majesty." After minute investigation, was at length settled a list of pensioners, who were to influence the youthful King, and to rule a devoted country, as Elizabeth should direct. In this list, Buchanan had a conspicuous place, and a large allowance. (1)

Buchanan

(1) For all those particulars, see the Cotton Library, Calig. c. 5. fol. 109—11, which contains also,—“The names of such, as are to be entertained, in Scotland, by pensions, out of England:”—

The Regent, E. Morton	-	-	£. 500
The E. of Angus	-	-	100
The E. of Athol	-	-	200
The E. of Argyle	-	-	200
The E. of Montrose	-	-	100
The E. of Rothes	-	-	100
The E. of Glencairn	-	-	100
The Countess of Marre	-	-	200
The Master of Erskine	-	-	150
The E. of Glamis	-	-	100
The Lord Ruthin	-	-	100
The L. Lindsay	-	-	100
The L. Boyd	-	-	100
The L. Herries	-	-	100
The L. Maxwell	-	-	100
The Laird of Lochleven	-	-	50
The L. Bolderkel	-	-	50
The L. of Drumwhafel	-	-	100
The L. of Ormiston	-	-	50
Z 4			James

Buchanan was at length to act under the three-fold character of *malcontent*, *reformer*, and *pensioner*. While thus acting under the influence of the ardent passions, which each of those characters powerfully inspire, Buchanan published, in January 1579-80, his well-known tract *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, which had been matured probably by the consideration of many years. (u)

James Macgill	-	-	-	100
Buchanan	-	-	-	100
Nic. Elviston	-	-	-	50
Peter Younge, schoolmaster	-	-	-	30
Alex ^r Hay	-	-	-	40

(u) It was originally printed, at Edinburgh, by John Ross, for Henry Charteris. There was a second edition of it, in 1580, and a third, in 1581. [Herb. Printers, vol. 3. 1500.] On the 15th of March 1579-80, Randolph wrote from London to Buchanan, who then resided at Stirling,—“that he “had received his *De Jure*, which had lately come into the “world;” but, he at the same time, regretted *the delay of his History*. [See the epistle in Rud. Buchanan.]—“Calderwood “says, *that Buchanan had written it just after the Earl of “Murray’s first parliament*, in 1567, though he did not publish it till the year 1579.” [Crawford’s MS. Note.] Ruddiman has been often insulted for speaking a similar language. Yet, from a consideration of all circumstances, and the authorities, I think it most probable, that Buchanan wrote the *De Jure*, at the time, which is mentioned by Calderwood, in order to justify the dethronement of Queen Mary, though, owing to causes that cannot now be known, he retained it in his hands, till the moment of his discontent, in 1579. Crawford was so absurd as to say, *that Buchanan laid it as a scheme of politics before his royal pupil*! [MS. Extracts.]

It

It was soon answered by Blackwood, and Barclay, and by others, who seem to have as little considered the nature of society, as Buchanan appears to have studied the laws of his country, which he professed to illustrate. The *De Jure*, however, has often been reprinted, during contentious times, by those, who, expecting to gain some advantage from the confusions of tumult, naturally hoped, that the licentiousness of its theory would promote the purposes of their interest. In this manner, the successive practice of ages seems to evince, that the *De Jure* of Buchanan has, in every period, been deemed rather favourable to faction, than conducive to liberty. Like other treatises, which have been since written on its model, the *De Jure* supposes, that the laws of Scotland did not exist, though it pretends to teach the maxims of the Scottish government. Buchanan designedly overlooked all these; because his extensive erudition had enabled him to contemplate the Grecian republics, which, appearing to a prejudiced mind, as models of perfection, he naturally inferred, that every municipal system actually was, what his predilection wished to be the constitution of his country. Buchanan has thus drawn upon himself the praises and reproaches of two very different classes of men. He has been celebrated as *the herald of whiggery* by those, in whom desire seconded prepossession: he has been condemned as *the herald*
of

of *anarchy* by others, whose apprehensions saw the fundamentals of society undermined, by the seditiousness of his principles.

It must be, however, allowed, that Buchanan contrived his work, with great address, for the state of Scotland, and the practices of the factions, among which he lived. From the epoch of the Reformation, to the æra of the accession of James VI. to the throne of England, Scotland exhibited the distorted picture of a King, without influence, of an aristocracy, without restraint, of a people, without protection, and of a clergy, without that just subordination to the *higher powers*, which the great Founder of their faith had taught, by the persuasive example of his meritorious actions. It was in this period of anarchy, that Buchanan published his *De Jure*, whatever were his purpose, of doing good to his country, or mischief to the world.

Of that anarchy, Buchanan lived to see the consequences. Almost all those, with whom he had acted for twenty years, he saw perish by violence. He beheld Morton, the object of his hatred, lose his head on the scaffold, for his crimes. While he was in the act of dedicating his history to his pupil, in August 1582, he heard, that the hand of treason had been raised against the King, by Gowrie, and other conspirators, at the *raid* of Ruthven.

We may easily suppose, that the anxiety, which

Randolph expressed for the publication of *the History*, hastened Buchanan's tardy steps, amidst the tumults of anarchy, and the pressures of age. On this long-expected work, he doubtless laboured diligently, during the years 1580, and 1581, in order to repair the loss of time, and the loss of *his copy*. Though he had probably contributed by his lucubrations to the violence of the ruling powers; yet the violence of the ruling powers certainly did not disturb his lucubrations. Yet, Crawford is so absurd as to assert, in the face of impossibility, "That Buchanan was not permitted
 " to enjoy the quiet he had promised to him-
 " self, in the decline of his age; but, *was sum-*
 " *moned before the privy council, while he was on*
 " *his death bed;*" (x) to answer for—*the History*, which was still in the press. Poor Crawford did not perceive, with his feeble eyes, that he asserted what an *alibi* disproved: for, there was not a privy council at Edinburgh, where Buchanan then resided, during many months, before Buchanan's decease. (y)

The History of Buchanan, which had been anxiously looked for, was, after various delays from several causes, delivered from the press of Arbuthnot to the learned world, in September

(x) MS. Extracts.

(y) See Moyse's Mem. 61-6.—Dr. W. Robertson's History, vol. 2. p. 95.

1582. Much was doubtless expected from it by contemporaries, whatever may be thought of it by posterity. Burleigh and Randolph, Murray and Macgill, and the other wise men of the times, were so silly as to hope, that successive generations would regard its sophisms, as maxims, and its assertions, as facts. Little did they foresee, that a race of men would arise, who would distinguish between Buchanan's assumptions and his proofs; who would detect the falsehood of the writer, and would even expose the artifice of his patrons.

The estates of Scotland acted with as little foresight, when, in May 1584, they condemned (z) Buchanan's "Buikes of the Chronicle, and" the *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, as not meet to "remain for records of truth to posterity." Neither the statesmen who applauded, nor the legislators, who condemned, the works of Buchanan, reflected, that verity alone can stand the detection of time.

Buchanan did not live long enough to hear the verdict of the world, which he early foresaw would be unfavourable; "that his history would" content few, and displease many." (u) He

(z) Glendook's Acts, 8 parliament, James VI. No. 134. — "*Georgius Buchananus, Scotus*," appears too, in the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, [p. 73] which was printed, at Venice, in 1596.

(a) Buchanan's Letter to Rando'ph, in 1577, Rud. preface to Buch. works, p. xix.

died

died at Edinburgh, on Saturday, the 28th of September 1582, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, without any disturbance from the government, without any disavowal of his writings, without any conversation with King James. He was buried in the cemetery of the Grey-friars, in that city. But, his grave, says the late writer of his *Memoirs*, *has never been distinguished by a tomb-stone.* (b)

Yet, is this positive assertion, of confident ignorance, contradicted by the following record: (c)—
“ At Edinburgh, the 3d day of December 1701;
“ the same day the council being informed,
“ that the through stone [tomb-stone] of the
“ deceased George Buchanan lyes sunk under the
“ ground of the Grey-friars: therefore, they
“ appoint the chamberlain to raise the same, and
“ clear the inscription thereupon; so as the same
“ may be legible.” The inscription, which was thus restored to the eye of the passenger, by the piety of Edinburgh, was written by John Adamson. (d) From those facts, we may learn, what an easy task it is to write memoirs, without re-

(b) Lord Gardenstone's *Miscellanies*, p. 252.

(c) The City of Edinburgh's Council Book, 3d December, 1701.

(d) It may be seen in Sibbald's *Commentary*, which was published, in 1702, p. 61, and in James Man's edition of *Buchanan's History*, 1762.

search; to praise, without knowledge; and to censure, without proof.

Several editions of Buchanan's *History* were printed abroad, without any republication at home, during the effluxion of many years. While it was deemed unsafe to publish the original, in Britain, a translation of it would hardly be printed, in this island. It was translated, during his own age, into *the Scottish tongue*, by *John Read, Esquyar*, who seems to have been Buchanan's *servitor and writer*. Yet, this translation remains still unpublished. (e) And, it was amidst the confusions, which succeeded the death of Cromwell, that such a history was thought suitable to the fashion of the times, in an English dress. On the 10th of March 1658-9, there was entered, on the register of the stationers company, *The History of Scotland, translated from the Latin of Buchanan, a Scott*. This translation had not, however, been published, at the epoch of the Restoration. It was still in the press, during June 1660. And, the government, being alarmed at the sound, effectually suppressed the publication (f) of what was then deemed *pernicious to monarchy*,

(e) In the library of the college of Glasgow; and see Nicolson's *Hist. Lib. edit.* 1776. p. 34:—and Mr. Whitaker's *Vindication*, vol. 2. p. 353.

(f) The following transcript from the books of privy council will probably be deemed curious, by some, and ridiculous, by others.—“ His majesty, having received information

monarchy, but has since dropt into oblivion, as unworthy of notice. Whether the copy was destroyed, or preserved, cannot now be known. But, certain it is, that a similar writing was published, in 1690, at a more propitious æra. (b) And, of this translation, a second edition, in a more

mation this day in council, [7th June 1660] that, Mr. Kirkton, dwelling at the sign of his majesty's arms, a bookseller, is now printing, in the English tounge, George Buchannan's History of Scotland and *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, which are very pernicious to monarchy, and injurious to his majesty's blessed progenitors: his majesty hath thereupon ordered by the advice of the council, and doth hereby require, that the warden, or master, of the company of stationers do forthwith make diligent search for and seize upon both the original and all the impressions made thereof, and deliver them to one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state. And it is further ordered by his majesty, that the said warden, or master, and the said Kirkton, do make their personal appearance, at this board, on Wednesday next the 13th instant, to receive his majesty's further pleasure, and thereof not to fayle at their perils."

(b) The adversaries of Ruddiman reproached him with having *nicked the time*, in publishing his edition of *Buchanan's Works*, in 1715. The time was very well *nicked* by publishing the *translation* of his *History*, in 1690: and, the time was still better *nicked*, by publishing, in 1689, Buchanan's *Detection of the Actions of Mary Queen of Scots*. To this *well-timed* edition of the *Detection*, there is a preface, which is ridiculously ignorant. The prefacer says, That James 5th, the father of Mary, was slain at Floddenfield, [the 9th September 1513;] that Mary was then a child only four days old; that at five years of age she was sent to France; that being left a widow, she returned to Scotland, where she found her mother *welting in her cruelties*. In this strain he runs on to the end, like greater

more commodious size, was given to the English people, by William Bond, in 1722, which was said to be corrected; and of which, Ruddiman remarks, "that he has not made the least alteration, [from the folio of 1690] though it abounds with many errors." (i)

Such were the *life* and *labours* of Buchanan, which occupied so much of the *life* and *labours* of Ruddiman! The elaborate *Vindication* of Buchanan, by Ruddiman, has precluded the necessity of *certificates* from the learned, in favour of Buchanan's genius, erudition, and poetry. What is acknowledged by an enemy requires no proof from a friend. And, when Ruddiman published the *whole works* of Buchanan, he placed his genius, his erudition, and his poetry, in the most advantageous light, though the injudiciousness of his admirers has thrown obscurity on the name, which they wished to illumine, by their celebrations.

It was, at the same time, the opinion of Ruddiman, that the possession of talents ought never greater writers of later times; reproaching Mary, and injuring himself:—

—— the worst of chance

Is, to crave grace for heedless ignorance.

(i) Answer to Logan, p. 315. The first translation was in folio; the second in 8vo. and both were published in London. An edition has been since printed, at Edinburgh, in numbers, during the year 1751; and, in the same period was published the *De Jure*, at Glasgow. [Scots Mag. 1751, p. 264—312—600.]

to

to be admitted as an apology for the want of morals. The glitter of Buchanan's literary accomplishments did not prevent Ruddiman from seeing, that his *moral* character was debased by many faults. The moderation of Ruddiman induced him, when he edited his works, to consider Buchanan as a person, who, in some of his principles, and many of his practices, was more erroneous than malignant. It was the strong motive of self-defence, which, after the persecution of thirty years, induced Ruddiman to exhibit the personal conduct of Buchanan, as stained with the foul reproach of ingratitude. It was the recent attack on the good name of Ruddiman, by the writer of the Memoirs of Buchanan, which demanded the foregoing narrative of his life, in order to show, that in Buchanan's portrait, Ruddiman had neither been mistaken in the drawing, nor malicious in the colouring.

If we were to institute a comparison between Buchanan and Ruddiman, as to their *moral* characters, an accurate estimate would produce a remarkable diversity. Enough has been already stated to prove, that the reputation of Buchanan has equally to apprehend the tattle of an injudicious friend, as the researches of an unpropitious adversary. Like other virtuous men, Ruddiman may be injured in his name by the follies of a friend, but, such was his life! that his worth has

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nothing

nothing to fear from the scrutinies of an enemy. It is the peculiar privilege of truth, and the comfortable reflection of innocence, that they need dread, neither the inquiries of the present, nor the detections of the future.—

Truth laughs at death,
And terrifies the killer more than kill'd.
Integrity, thus armless, seeks his foes,
And never needs a target, or a sword,
Bow, or envenom'd shafts.

THE
APPENDIX.

THE APPENDIX, No. I.

Ratificatioun of the Reformatioun of the
Univerſitie of St. Androis. [*From the
Records of the Parliament of Scotland, the
11th of November 1579. See before, p.
8, and 352.*]

FORSAMEKLE as oure Souerane lord and
his thrie Eſtatis in his laſt parliament (a)
Conſidering that the Univerſities of this realme
appointit for Educatioun of the Zowth q^{lk}. ſould
be the ſeid and uphald of the common welth and
Kirk of God being weil foundat alſweill in rentis
as proviſioun of maiſtaris teachearis and Burſaris
wer notw'ſtanding miſuſed be particuler perſonis
to yair awin advantage w'hout reſpect to the di-
ligent upbringing of the Zowth in vertew and
guide Leſs litill regarding the common welth of
this realme and poſteritie to cum And that the
forme of teaching wes for the maiſt pairt unprof-
fitable q'by the Zowth tynt yair tyme and pa-

(a) 25 July 1578.

A a 2

rentis

rentis frustrat of thair expectatioun Thairfoir his Henes with advise of his saidis estaitis gaif grantit and commitit full power and commissioun to certaine noble reuerend worshipfull and discrete personis expresit in the act of parliament (b) maid thairanent To visite and consider the foundatiouns and erectiouns of the Universities and collegis w'in this realme To reforme sic thingis as foundit to superstitioun ydolatrie and papistrie To displace unqualified and unmeit personis to discharge yair offices in the saidis Universities To plant sic qualifit and worthie personis thairintill as they suld fynd gude and sufficient for education of the Zouth—Quhilkis personis sae appointit failing to convene at the first diett nathing wes performit till of lait That the mater being rememberit be directioun from the generale assemble of the ministrie speciallie thinking the University of Sanct Androis meit to be reformat His Henes w^t avise of the Lordis of his secrete Counfall Ordanit and commandit the maisteris of the said Universitie to be at Edinburgh at ane certane day w^t the foundatiouns of their collegis to be sein and considerit be ony six five or foure of sic noble reverend and circumspect personis as his Majestie w^t avise of his said Counsaile had chosine committing to them full power to visite and consider the saidis foundatiouns to re-

(b) No. 4, unprinted.

move all superstitious and papistrie To displace
unqualified personis and plant worthie and qua-
lified in thair roumes To redres the forme of
studyis and teaching be ma or fewar professouris
To joyne or divide the faculteis To annex every
facultie to sic College as sal be found maist pro-
per And generallie to establish sic order in that
Universitie as sal maist tend to the glory of God
profeit of the common welth and guide upbringing
of the zowith in sciences neidfull for conte-
newing of the trew religeoun to all posterities
Likeas the act of secrete Counsalle thairupoun at
mair lenth proportis — And they convening at
Edinburgh and haveing sene and considerit the
foundatioun and erectiouns of the said Universitie
of Sanct Androis hes found the present estate in
all the Colleges thair of sa fer alterit from the first
enstitutioun The maist pairt of the verie founda-
tiouns sa fer disaggreing w^t the trew religioun
And sa fer different from that perfectioun of
teaching q^{lk} this learnit age cravis And they
neidfull directiouns q^{lks} the auld foundatiouns ap-
pointis being in mony thingis omittit and neg-
lectit Hes thairfoir with common consent divisit
and drawin ane mair proffitable and persite or-
der to be observit in the said Universitie in tyme
coming As the same subscrivit w^t the handis of
the saidis Commissioneris at mair lenth beires
Quhik his Hienes w^t avise of his three estaitis
ordainis to be heir insert And of the same the

tennoure followis—To the richt excellent richt heich and mighty Prince James the sext be the grace of God King of Scottis, our foueraine Lord zoure Majesties daylie orato^{rs} and maist humble subjectis zo^r Hienes Commissioneris for reformatioun of the Univerfitie of Sanct-Androis under subscryvand speciallie constitut Having at command and directioun of zo^r Majestie sene and considerit the foundatiouns and erectiouns of the said Univerfitie and bene credible informit of the present conditioun thair of w^t the ordo^r of exercise observit thairin thir fundrie zeirs bigane And findand the estate of all the colleges at this present tyme sa fer alterit from the first institutioun the maist pairt of the verie foundations sa fer disaggreing w^t the trew religioun and sa fer different from that perfectioun of teaching q^{'k} this learnit age cravis And they neidful directiouns q^{'k} the auld foundatiouns appointis being in mony things omitted and neglectit We have thairfoir w^t common consent divisit and drawin the forme and order following As mair profitablie to be observit in the said Univerfitie in tyme coming to the glory of God honno^r of zo^r majestie profit of this common welth and guid upbringing of the zowth in seiences neidfull for continewing of the trew religioun to all posteritie—First We Ordane the New College for the studie of Theologie allenarlie In the q^{'k} five maisteris daylie teachin sal in fo^r yeris compleit

pleit the haill course of the New and Auld Testament and the common places in this ordo^r viz^t The first lecto^r in the first sex moneths sal teiche the preceptis of the Ebrew grammer and practize yairof in Davidis Salamon Job In the uther sex moneths the preceptis of Caldaicque Syraicque and use of the famin in Daniell Esdra the paraphrasis and Syraicque New Testament The second lectoure in the secund yeir and ane half fall interpret out of the Ebrew and sensible oppin up the law of Moses and the historie of the Auld Testament conferring w^t the pharaphrasis Septuagintis and uther learnit versionis q^r neid beis The third lecto^r in the last zeir and ane half fall w^t the like diligence expone the prophettis greit and small The fourt lecto^r fall teiche the New Testament out of the Greek tounge during the haill cours conferring w^t the Syriaque The fyft lecto^r fall reid the common places during the haill cours swa that the studentis of Theologie heiring daylie thrie Lessonis the space of four zeirs sal w^t meane diligence become perfite theologians To this end ther sal be daylie repetitiouns anys in the oulk publict disputatiouns everie moneth Declamatiouns thrie solemne examinatiouns in the cours The first in the end of the first zeir in the tongis And sa far as they have heard of the common places and New Testament The secund examinatioun efter the secund zeir and ane halfe in the law historie and samekle as sal be red of the common-

places and New Testament and the therd examina-
tioun in the end of the cours in all the toungis
the haill Bible and common places Thir thrie
solemne examinatiouns sal begyne the tent day of
September q'in everie learnt man sal be frie to
dispute And becaus thair is greit varietie at this
present of men learnt in the knowledge of the
tongues and uther thingis neidfull for sic pro-
fessor^s we have thairfoir electit certane of the
maist qualyfit personis knawin to us as the saidis
five maistaris for teaching of the cours of theolo-
gie in the order before writtin in the said New
College To begyne howsoune possiblie they may
be transportit yairto Of the q^{lk} thrie to enter
this pnt zeir And ordains the persouns now oc-
cupeing the place of maistaris in the said college
to remove yairfra w'hout delay Item quhen it
sal happene ony of the fyve maisteris or profes-
souris to inlaik or that the nowmer sal not be full
that the electioun of qualifit personis thairfoir
sal from this furth pertene to the Bischop of Sanct
Andr the conseruator of the priveleges of the
said Universitie the rector Deanis of facultie
and remanent maisteris of theologie or the maist
pairt of thame that sal be present in Sanct Andr
the day appointit for the electioun ffor quhilk
purpois the rector or incase of his absence or
negligence the Deane of facultie w'hin sex dayis
after the vacans of the rowme be discess or
utherwys fall affix ane edict upoun ane moneths
warning

warning That all learnit men may convēne furth
of all pairtis of the realme of quhom the wor-
thiest efter dew examinatioun to be preferrit And
to the same personis electors fall belang the charge
of depositioun and deprivation of sic as fall be
thocht unworthie aither in doctrine or lyff or not
doing thair dewtie faythfullie and diligentlie in
that professioun q'unto they happyne to be electit
Item We ordane aucht Bursaris in theologie
to be receavit teachit and have thair buirdis
upoun the rentis of the said New College the
stipendis and buirdis of the maisteris heir-
after speciallie declarit being first allowit Item
becaus it is cleirly undeirstand that yair hes bene
and is greit corruptioun and abuse in ressayving of
the Bursaris in everie facultie rather upoun
favo' and solistatioun then for vertew or in support
of povertie Thairfoir that in ressayving of bursaris
in tyme coming either in theologie or ony uther
facultie there be an publict edict affixt be the first
M^r of the college or in case of his absence or
negligence be the nixt M^r upoun twentie dayis
warning of befoir the first day of October zeirlye
And be diligent examination of the Recto' Deanis
of facultie and the M^{rs} of the college q' the burs
happynis to vaik the puirest to be preferit ceteris
paribus gif he fall be found alswell learnit and
qualifyt w'hout prejudice always of the lawit
patronis quha notw'standing sal be halden to pre-
sent qualifyt personis And that nane fall bruik
ane.

any burfs in ony facultie but for the fpace of four zeiris and that everie Burfer in theologie foundit or to be foundit in q'somever college in the faid Univerfitie of Sanct-Andr fall be bundin to refort to the leffonis and exercife of the faid New College now appointit for theologie and compleit yar cours as faid is Item that learning may further increas and qualifyt perfonis only be provydit to ecclefiaftical offices and charges w'thin this realme We ordane that efter the fpace of foure zeirs immediately following the dait heiroy nane fall be admittit to the miniftrie of the word of God and Sacramentis or ony benefice havand cure of fawlis except fic as hes completit yair cours in theologie or be rigorous examinatioun be the facultie fal be found worthie and qualifyt to reffave all thair degreis in the faid facultie Item that the zowth may atteane unto perfite knowlege of humanitie and trew phylofophie We ordane that in aither of the uther twa Colleges viz^t Sanct Leonardis and Sanct Salvatouris thair fall be befyds the principal foure ordiner profeffouris or regentis everie ane contenewing in his awin profeffioun The firft Regent in the firft zeir of the cours fall teache the preceptis of the Greek tounge and ufe thairof in the beft and maift eafie autho^rs w^t exercifes in compositioun the firft fix moneths in Latine the reft in Greek The fecond Regent fal teiche the preceptis of inventioun difpofitioun and elocutioun The fecond zeir fhorteft eafieft

easieſt and maiſt accurat w^t practiſe yairof in the beſt authors of bay^t the toungeſ The third Regent ſhall teich the maiſt proffitable and neidfull pairtis of the logickiſ of Ariſtotle w^t the ethikiſ and politikis all in Greek and the Offices of Cicero in Latine The fourt Regent ſhall teiche in Greek ſamekle of the phiſikiſ as is neidfull w^t the ſpheir Item that the buikiſ maiſt neidfull and proffitable ſhall be appointit for everie claſſ be the Rector Deanis of facultie and yair aſſeſſo^rs Item that everie author be red in that tounge q^lk they write into Item that the twa claſſes of humanitie ſhall ſpend at the leaſt an ho^r daylie in compoſitioun Item that in the laſt ſix moneths of the ſecund zeir they ſhal begyne to declame aynis in the moneth in Greek and Latyne alternatim beſyds thair daily compoſitiouns q^lk declamatiouns ſhall conteniw the twa laſt years Item that emulation may be ſterit up amongis the ſaidis ſcollaris that they be devidit in Decurijs and he preferrit to greiteſt honno^r quha beſt declamis or compoſis his the meayns in the moneth to be gevin for that end Item that in everie ane of the ſaidis foure claſſ's thair ſhall be everie Sonday ane leſſone in Greek The firſt in the Evangel of Sant Luke The ſecund in the Actis of the Appoſtlis The third in the Epiſtlis to the Romanis The fourt in the Epiſtle to the Ebrews Item becauſe the zouth tynis meikle tyme zeirlye be lang vaccance We ordane that the vaccance ſhall induir
the

the onlie moneth of September and befoir the first day of October everie ane fall returne At the q'lk day the examinatioun of the schollaris of humanitie and phylosophie fall begyne amongis quhome the worthie to be promotit and the negligent to be haldin bak Item that about the twentie day of August they that have endit yair cours efter rigorous examinatioun being found qualifyt fall be maid maisteris And quhen it fall happine the principal or ony of the foure ordiner professors and Regentis in aither of the saids twa collegis appointed for humanitie and phylosophie to inlaik or that the nowmber appointit fall not be full The electioun of qualifyt personis thairunto fall perteine to the saidis Bischop Conseruator Rector Dean^{es} of faculties and remanent maisteris of all the three colleges or the maist pairt of thame that fall be pñt at the day appointit for the electioun ffor q'k purpois edicts fall be sett up in maner and within the like space as is prescriuit in the elelectioun of the maisters in the college of theologie And the Bursaris in Art to be ref-savit and admittit be rigor of examinatioun zeirlie in tyme coming efter this present at the first day of October That the principal of Sanct Salvators college fall be professor in medicine And the principal of Sanct Leonardis in the philosophy of Plato q'ks fall reid ordinarlie foure tymes in the oulk Monunday Tuesday Wednesday and Friday at the hor^s to be appointit be
the

the electors and M^{rs} of the Universitie That the lawer and mathematiciane of befoir in the New College fall now bein Sanct Salvators college and have their stipendis and buirdis upoun the fruitis y^rof and be electit and admitit as the maisteris of the colleges That the lawer now appointit to remane and be in Sant Salvators college fall reid within the same foure lessonis of the law ouklie viz^t on Monunday Tuesday Wednesday and Friday to q^lk lessonis in the law fall be ordiner auditors all the Advocattis and Scribis in the consistorie & sic utheris as ar desirous to proceid in the facultie of the law and that nane be admittit befoir the Lordis or uther juges to ordiner procuratioun except they sal gif first specimen doctrine in the Universitie of Sant And^r and report a testimoniall of the said Universitie witnessing thair qualificatioun and how far they have procedit in the studie of the law And y^rw^lall affirming that they diligentlie kepit the lessonis sa lang as they remainit in the Universitie That the mathematiciane now in Sant Salvators College fall reid w^hin the same foure lessonis ouklie in the mathematick sciences in sic dayis and hor^s as fall be appointit to the saidis lawer and mathematiciane be the rector and maisteris of the Universitie q^lk al sua fall appoint the ordiner auditoris for the mathematiciane That the electors and maisteris of all the Collegis in the University the Provest of the Citie w^t sic twa of the Bailles yairof as they

they ſhal think meit to tak w^t yame or ſa mony of this nowmer as ar preſent in the cietie for the tyme ſall convene w^t the principallis of the thrie collegis everie zeir upon the firſt day of October And be common conſent and agreement condeſcend and preſcribe the prices of buirdis and manner and nowmer of courſes of ſic as levis Collegialiter for the zeir then to cum that the prices and orde^r may be uniform in all the thrie Collegis q^tthrow the differences of prices or diverſitie of cheir prejudice nane of thame That the wonted obedience reverence and authoritie that in ancient tyme wes given to the Chancellair Rector Deanis of faculteis and Conſervators and of lait zeirs hes ſumquhat decayit be reſtorit and that everie ane of the chief officiariis quether it be in judgement geving upoun thame yat ar under yair juridiſtioun or in viſiting the collegis be mantenit And nawis ſtoppit be ony allegit privilege in the contrarie And that in place of the pane of curſing uſit of beſoir upoun offenders and inobedientis they be now decernit be decreit of the rector and cheif memberis of the Univerſitie eſter the cognitioun of the caus to be debarrit ſecludit and removit out of the Univerſitie and to tyne and forſault the privilegis and benefittis y^rof To the executioun of q^lk decreit the provost and baillies of the citie of Sant Androis ſall concurr and aſſiſt gif the neceſſitie ſua requir And that they be yairunto be the Univerſitie requirit or urtherwiſs thair ſall ſiclike
leſes

leſes paſs be deliverance of the Lordis of Coun-
 ſall and Seſſioun upon the ſaid decreit and diſ-
 obedience yairof as had wont to be gevin of be-
 foir upoun curſit perſonis w^hin the ſaid Uni-
 verſitie upoun the requiſitioun of the ſame That
 the pointis properlie belonging to the office of the
 Chancellair Rector Deanis of faculties and Con-
 ſervator of the Univerſitie be ſocht out of the
 ancient ſtatutis foundatiounis and privilegis be
 the perſonis preſentlie occupying the ſame offices
 And that everie ane pⁿt his awin to zo^r Maſteſtie
 betwixt and the firſt day of Marche nixt to cum
 To the effect that the ſamin being found guide
 and allowable may alſua be regiſtrat and remane
 w^t thir preſent ſtatutis That the foundat perſo-
 nis in everie college alſwell teacheris as ſtudentis
 be firſt well qualifit according to the order now
 appointit and nixt that they be diligent in diſ-
 charging of thair offices to the intent that nouth-
 er ignorance nor ydilnes in place of ſcience and vir-
 tuis lauboring be mantenit or permittit bot that
 everie ane according to the order preſentlie ap-
 pointit be exerciſit That the wiſſis bairnis &
 ſervandis of the principalis and utheris maſteris
 in the Univerſitie be put apairt in the citie out of
 the collegis ſwa that wemen to a evill and ſlan-
 derous example have not reſidence amang the
 zoung men ſtudentis nor zit that the ſame wo-
 men have ony adminiſtratioun and handilling of
 the common guidis of the college to the greit
 prejudice

prejudice thair of & of sic as frielie wald gif thame selfis to the studie of lerēs Be it alwayis heirby understand that the bairnis and servandis of the saidis principallis and maisteris that fall be actuall studentis lauchfullie & orderlie enterit in the College ar not heirby secludit—That everie college be visit thryfs in the zeir be the Rector Deanis of facultis w^t yair assessors conforme to the statutis of the Universitie and for keiping of guide order and uniformity—That everie manis plaint be hard and the default quhatsumever corrected And q^r outhir the Rector or Dean of facultie is principall or M^r in ony College in that caise the remanent electors and visitors to visite that College That the principallis of the Collegis betwixt and the first day of May nixt to cum certifie zo^r Ma^{tie} quhat personis ar enterit to yame of new be pñtation of zo^r Hienes or uthir patronis as burfaris to ony prebendreis or sicklike rentis and quhen everie ane enterit And that they alsua gif warning to zo^r Hienes or uthiris patrounis quhen the roumes vaikis outhir be deceals deprivationoun or ending of the course and dew tyme and thair entres in respect of the termes of payment to be reknit outhir at Martymes or Witsonday That quhen the burfare pñtit fall not be found qualifit the principall or M^r fall be his awin lettre direct w^t ane uthir nor the partie repulfit certifie zo^r Majestie or uthir patroun of the caufs of non admissioun or deprivationoun To
the

the effect that ane uther sufficientlie qualified may be pntit to the rounge of new the like certification to be at the zeirlye examinatioun of the Bursaris in caise they be not found worthie to proceed furthward in thair degreis That in all admissioun and promotioun the examiners and assessors be sworne That they fall admit nor promote nane bot sic as fall be be the rigor of examinatioun and sufficient literature found worthie to be promoted That all publict lecturers have a register of all the ordinar auditors cummand to the lessone alswell of thair awin College as w'hout And that the saidis auditors subscribe the discipline and be subject to the exercise and disputation And the day of thair entrie to be registrat And seing the personis presentlie to be displacit (beside the Provest of the New College quaha hes alredie the charge of the ministrie of the cietie and parochyne of Sant Andr^e q^{lk} is a burding griet anouch for ony ane man to discharge) ar outhir Regentis, or Bursaris in philosophie Thairfoir that the Regentis displacit be preferrit to the places of Bursaris in theologie in the said New College gif they will accept the same and the Bursaris of philosophie thairin q^{lk}is hes beene lawchfullie ressavit to be still nowrishit and interteinyt q^{ll} the end of thair cours upoun the stipendis of twa of the maisteris of the said New College q^{lk} fall not entir q^{ll} the rentis of the same College convenientlie may sustene yame

And the saids Burfaris to resort to thair lessonis in ony of the uther tua Colleges q^r they think meitast q^{ll} the end of yair cours to be contenewit in sic forme as they begonth The principall maisteris of the Colleges fall have na intromission w^t the common guidis and rentis yairof bot ane yconomus chosyne and havand commissioun of the haill maisteris of everie College Of q^{lk} yconomus they fall reffave daylie compt And that yair be in everie College ane common kist w^t a findrie lok and key for everie M^r yairof for preservatioun of the rentis of the College q^{ll} the samin be richtlie distributit w^t common consent And tueching the rentis and distributioun yairof We ordane the rentis of the kirkis annext of auld to the feis of several maisteris in Sant Salvators College to remane and be comptit in tyme cuming amang the ordiner rentis of the same College And that aither of the tua principall maisters professors of theologie in the said New College fall have for yair fie and yair awin and yair servandis buird an hundreth pundis money and thrie chalderis victuall viz^t Tuelf bollis quheit ane chalder beir and ane chalder foure bollis aittis & everie ane of the uther thrie maisteris and professors of theologie in the same College ane hundreth pundis and ane chalder victuall viz^t foure bollis quheit sex bollis beir and sex bollis aittis everie ane of the aucht Burfaris of theologie w^{thin} the same New College fall

fall have for his buird tuentie tua pundis sex
 fchillings aucht pennies money tua bollis quheit
 five bollis beir tua bollis aittis And the
 rest of the rentis to be bestowit for the feis
 of the common servandis reparatioun of the
 place and reservit for publict usis upoun compt—
 In the Collegis of humanitie and philosophie the
 principall M^r and the lawer and the mathemati-
 ciane everie ane for his awin fie and his awin
 and his servandis buird ane hundreth pundis mo-
 ney and ane chalder aittis everie ane of the uther
 foure ordiner professors or regentis before writtin
 for his fie and his buird ane hundreth merkis and
 for the buird of everie burfare in philosophie fiftie
 merkis reservand the rest of the rentis for the feis
 of the common servandis reparatioun of the place
 and utheris publict usis upoun compt Providing
 that all personis thus ordanit to leif on the Col-
 lege rentis and that his ordiner charges w^hin
 the Collegis apply that q^{lks} appointit for yair
 buird and eat togither w^hin the College in sic
 fort as they can best aggrie amangis thame-
 selffis. That it be nawayis lauchfull to the maif-
 teris of ony of the saidis Collegis to sett the kirks
 landis fruitis and rentis annexit yairto in few or
 takkis to the diminutioun of the rentall or be the
 changing of victuall in prices of silver under the
 pane of deprivation from yair places And in
 caise ony fall happine maliciously to do uther-
 ways that it be worthie caus of deprivation to

the settare And that the sett feu or dispositioun
quhatsumever fall be na langer valiable to the
purchassers yrof nor the setters bruikis yair places
and rounes in the College And for executioun
of this present Reformatioun we humblie and
earnestlie require zo^r Majestie to grant commis-
sioun to sic honourable worthie & zealous personis
as zo^r Hienes and zo^r estaittis sal think expedient
that will and may attend yairto speciallie to com-
mand thame to call befoir thame all sic as hes
had the charge of the saides Collegis and intro-
mettit w^t the rentis thairof in tyme bigane—And
to heir & see thair compts subscryvit dischargis
to yame reffave yair rentallis librarys insicht
plenessingis upoun perfite inventair and deliver
the same upon the like inventair to the maisteris
now to be placit according to this reformatioun
in the saidis Collegis with formal & guide ren-
tallis to be maid of the rentis of everie ane of the
saidis Collegis for the better collectioun and
compt yairof in tyme cuming Inhibiting the
personis now displacit of all further melling and
intromissioun with the saidis rentis And all sewaris
fermoraris tennentis taksmen parochynaris and
utheris qhatsumever of all ansuering obeying and
payment making of the same to the saidis displacit
personis of the terme of Martymes nixt to cum Of
the cropt of this instant yeir of God Jmvc & lxxix
yeirs [1579] certifying thame that dois in the
contrair they fall be compellit to pay the same
over

over agane And that it may pleis zo^r Majestie
to cause visite and consider the said Universitie
of new at the end of foure zeiris following the
first day of October last bypast that it may be
knawin quhat fruit and effect followis be this
reformatioun And always fra thync furth at the
end of everie foure zeirs And that it may pleis
zo^r Hienes according to zo^r godlie zeall always
to the advancement of Goddis glorie and guide
leses to grant unto the said Universitie and to
the M^{rs} and memberis actuallie resident yairin
and to the yconomus and procurator of everie
College the like privilege for calling and expe-
ditioun of yair actionis and caussis befor the
Lords of Counfall and Sessioun as is grantit to
the prelatis and members of the College of Jus-
tice And sa to provide for sustentatioun of the
ministrie at the kirkis annext to the saidis Col-
legis be the superplus of the thriddis and utheris
ecclesiasticall rentis As neither the rentis of the
Collegis be diminishit nor the foundat personis
w^ddrawin from thair ordiner studyis and teich-
ing to serve as ministeris at particular kirkis
In witness q^of we have subscrivit thir p^{ntis}
w^t o^r handis at Ed^r the aucht day of November
the zeir of God Jaj^v thriescore nynetene zeirs
sic subscribitur Levinax R. Dumfermling G. Bu-
channane James Haliburtoun P. Young Thairfoir
our said Soverane Lord w^t avise of his thrie
estaitis ratifies approvis and confirmis the said

reformatioun of the said Universitie of Sanct And-
r̄ maid at his Hienes command as said is And
for putting of the same in full executioun his
Majestie w^t avise of his saidis estaitis gevis and
grantis full power commission and authoritie to
his dearest and onlie greit uncle Robert Erle of
Levinax Lord Dernlie Commendatair of the
Priorie of Sant Androis Andro Erle of Rothes
Lord Leslie Sheriff of Fyff Patrick Archbishop
of Sanct Androis Patrick Lord Lyndsay of the
Byris Robert Commendatair of Dumfermling
his Hienes Secretair and Archedeane of Sanct
Androis John Erskyne of Dwn M^r Johne Wynr-
hame prio^r of Portmook M^r James Halybur-
toun Provost of Dundee or ony thrie of thame
conjunctlie Commanding all the p^{nt} ministeris
and memberis of the said Universitie to ansuer
and obey the saidis commissioneris in executioun
of the said reformatioun according to the effect
and meaning yrof And gif neid be to mak op-
pin durris and lokkis for the q^{lk} the doaris fall
incurr na danger in yair personis landis or guidis
nor fall not be callit nor accusit for the samin
criminallie nor ewillie be ony maner of way in
tyme coming The auld foundationis and erec-
tiouns of the saidis Collegis and haill Universitie
or ony thing contenit yⁿ notw^tstanding q^anant
his Majestie w^t avise of his saidis estaitis dispens's
And that the Lordis of Counfall and Sessioun
direct

direct breſ to the effect reſpective abovewrittin
in forme as eſſeirs.

Carefully collated with the Record.

W.[illiam] R.[obertſon.]

The foregoing act, for *the Reformation of the
Univerſitie of St. Androis*, did not, however, con-
tinue long in force. It was repealed by a leſs in-
novating parliament, in 1621. [Glendook's Acts,
p. 482, the *unprinted* laws, No. 71.] By this un-
published act, the univerſity of St. Andrew's was
again placed on the *reſpectable footing* of its *firſt
foundation*. And, in order to gratify the reader's
curioſity, I have ſubjoined the *Act of Ratification
in favour of the Univerſity of St. Andrew's of their
firſt foundations*:

In the Parliament halden at Edin' y^e 4th day
of Auguſt 1621 years Our Sovereign L^d &
eſtates of Parliament, underſtanding the altera-
tion and change which has been made on the
firſt foundations of the Colleges within the Uni-
verſity of St. Andrews to have bred ſuch uncer-
tainty in profeſſions of ſciences & obſervation of
orders appointed by the firſt foundations of the
ſ^d Colleges, that the greater part of the profef-
ſours are negligent making no profeſſion at all of
teaching, as not knowing whereto they ſhall be-
take themſelves; neither can their viſitations
which are made for reformation of diſorders take
any profitable effect in reſpect of the alterations
before mentioned; & that it ſeemeth moſt equit-

able that the wills of the first founders should take effect, except where the same is repugnant to the true religion presently professed within this kingdom: Therefor our Sovⁿ L^d & estates foresaids ratifies and approves the foresaids first foundations of the saids Colleges in all the heads articles and clauses of the same in swa far as the same may stand with the estate of the true religion; and ordains the M^{rs} and professors within the same Colleges hereafter to observe the professions appointed by the first founders to them, and to conforme themselves to the orders contained and set down in their first foundations (they only excepted that the M^{rs} of the New College keep still the profession of divinity within their schools as presently is and has been used and exercised these years bygone, and that in all other things the M^{rs} of the s^d N. C. observe the laws of the first foundation) according to the which all visitations and trials hereafter shal be made, and no otherways, discharging all acts and statutes made in prejudice of their first foundations.

THE APPENDIX, No. 2.

Parl^t of Scotland holden at Edinb^r 11th
August 1607.

Commissoun anent grammer & teacheris thair of.
[See before, p. 23.]

“ **O**URE Souerane Lord and estaittis of this
“ present Parliament Vnderstanding the
“ Latine towng to be greatlie diminischit within
“ this realme to the heauie preiudice of the com-
“ mounweill of the samyn And the speciall cause
“ thair of to be ye want of the vniforme teacheing
“ of all the pairtis of grammer establisht be ane
“ law in all the pairtis of this realme, Where-
“ throw be the curiositie of diuers maisteris of
“ scholis baith to burgh and to land (a) taking
“ vpoun them efter thair fantesie to teache suche
“ grammer as pleasis them The zouth quha be
“ occasioun of the pest and vtherwayes being

(a) That is, both in town and country.

“ oft

“ oft and diuers tymes changit to diuers scholis
 “ and maisteris be alteratioun of the forme of
 “ teacheing ar haillely prejudgeit — ffor remede
 “ q’ of it is thocht expedient be o’ Souerane
 “ Lord and estaittis of this present Parliament
 “ That thair shall be ane fatlit forme of the best
 “ and maist commoun and approvin grammer and
 “ all pairtis thereof collectit establischt and
 “ prentit to be vniuersallie teachit in all the
 “ pairtis of this realme be the haill maisteris and
 “ teacheares of grammer in all tyme cumming
 “ Thairfoir our said Souerane Lord and estaittis
 “ of Parliament presentlie convenit hes gevin
 “ and grantit and be thir presentis geves and
 “ grantis full power & commissioun to Alexander
 “ Erle of Dunfermeling chancellor of this realme
 “ James Lord of Balmirrenoch secretar to his
 “ Maiestie S’ Thomas Hammyltoun of Bynnie
 “ kny’ his hienes aduocat Mr. Johne Prestoun
 “ of Penycuik collector generall S’ Johne Skene
 “ of Curryhill kny’ clerk of regestir Mr. Thomas
 “ Craig and M’ Williame Oliphant aduocattis
 “ M’ William Scott of Elie M’ Patrick Sandes
 “ & M’ John Roy scholemaister (b) of Edin-
 “ bur’ or ony fyve of thame coniunctlie to trye
 “ cognosce conclude and sett doun sic forme
 “ and ordo’ as they fall think maist meitt and
 “ expedient to be obseruet heireftir be all maif-

(b) Probably should be, “scholemaisters.”

“ teris of grammer within this realme And o’
 “ said Souerane Lord and estaittis foirsaid de-
 “ claris that the proceedings of the said commif-
 “ siounaris in the said mater shall be als effec-
 “ tuall as gif the samyn wer specialie sett down
 “ be act of this present Parliament And that
 “ publicatioun be maid thair of at all places
 “ neidfull with command thairin to all maisteris
 “ of scholis to obey the samyn vnder the pane
 “ of deprivatioun of thame frome teacheing and
 “ payment of tuentie pundis to the pure of the
 “ parochin quhair they duell.”

Edinb’ General Register-House, Tuesday,
 15th March 1791—faithfully collated with
 the Record.

W M. ROBERTSON.

MEM.—In Glendook’s Acts, p. 364, there is
 mention of an *unprinted* act, 1597, 15 Ja. VI.
For ane grammer to be universalle teachd.—In an-
 swer to my request for a copy of this *unprinted*
 act, Mr. Robertson wrote me, on the 25th of
 February 1791:—“ You will be no less surpris’d
 “ to be inform’d than I was to discover, that no
 “ such act is to be found in our records of par-
 “ liament. Of this singular circumstance, how-
 “ ever incredible, I can positively assure you, on
 “ the authority of a most attentive search and re-
 “ search; not only of the record of the parliament,
 “ 1597,

“ 1597, but likewise of those of the imme-
“ diately preceding, and the immediately subse-
“ quent parliaments.”—On the 15th of March
1791, however, Mr. Robertson wrote me, as
follows:—“ Accident, I think, has enabled me
“ to gratify your curiosity about the universal
“ statutory Scots Grammar. I inclose an exact
“ copy of an act of parliament, which occurred
“ to me this forenoon, in the prosecution of an
“ investigation, relating to a very different mat-
“ ter. It appears to be the act set down by
“ Skene and his copier Glendook erroneously,
“ among the unprinted acts of parliament 1597.”
The facts before stated are alone sufficient to
evince the necessity of printing the rolls and acts
of the Scots parliament, after a careful search
and from accurate copies. The acts of Skene
and Glendook are not to be trusted,

Wt.
Willing

9 m. 1/2

THE which Day the saids Mr. John M
Rudiman on the terms of the appointment t
albeit he had an invitation at present to a
carried to the Facultie he choised rather to
their service, Upon hearing of which report
resolution the s^d fifteenth of July Jayvi & to
be retained by the Thelaurer, and added to

T H E

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George Falconer jr
Alex^r Hay
J^r Huddell^r Stevenson
J^r Douglas
J^r Massie
Baillies
McGill
Horn
James Hamblin
Spottiswood
DeSkines
ingle
Hall

THE

James Hume

Ja: Dalrymple

Andrew Hay

La Esquint

Ch Binning

John Mackenz

George Douglas

Cha. Erskine

Ja: MacLeod

Ja: Smollett

ho: Buchan

Willy Brodie

Thom Scott

James Hume
Scottish Wood

Tho: Hope

John Ogilvie

Archibald Ogilby

Jo Carve

Alex: Hay

Alex: Stevenson

John Douglas

Andrew Maffie

WILLIAM WILK

Rob: Fraser

Monro

Ja: Stewart

Matthew Mackenzie

THE APPENDIX, No. 4.

Grammaticæ Latinæ à Scotis Scriptæ,
 Secundum temporis quo quisque scrip-
 serit ordinem dispositæ.—[From the
 Bibliotheca Ruddimanniana. See before,
 p. 63.]

1. **V**AUS (Jo.) Primus literarum humanio-
 rum in Academia Regali Aberdonensi
 professor. In primam doctrinalis Alexan-
 drini partem, ab Jod. Bad. Ascensio re-
 cognitam, Commentarij; ab eodem Af-
 censio itidem recogniti atque impressi,
 Paris. ab eund. 1522, 4to.

2. Buchananus (Geor.) De Profodia Libellus,
 Edin. ap. Walde-grave, 12mo.

Exst. Cum Boëthio de Consol. Philosoph. ap.
 Plantinum, 1590, 12mo.

Et inter ejus Opera editionis Ruddimannianæ
 et Burmannianæ.

3. Simfonus (Andr.) sive Simonides, Ludima-
 gister Dunbarensis, et postea ejus ecclesiæ
 Pastor. Rudimenta Grammatices in gra-
 tiam juventutis Scoticæ Conscripta. Prima
 ejus editio exiit Edin. 1587, 8vo.

4. Car-

4. Carmichael (Jac.) Grammaticæ Latinæ de Etymologiæ liber Secundus, Cantab. 1587, 4to.

5. Duncanus (Andr.) Grammatica Latina, Edin. 1597, 8vo.

6. Humius (Alex.) Grammatica Nova in Usum Juventutis Scoticæ, et Auctoritate Senatus omnibus regni Scholis imperata. Edin. 1612, 8vo.

—— Virtutes Grammaticæ à Grammaticis hætenus vel incognitæ vel neglectæ ab Alexandro Humio, ex antiqua gente Humiorum in Scotia, in sua Grammatica revelatæ, MS. 8vo.

7. Leochæus (Jo.) [i. e. Leech] Rudimenta Grammaticæ Latinæ, in gratiam Jacobi Moraviæ, domini Anandiæ, cui Leochæus erat Præceptor. Lond. 1624, 12mo.

8. Wedderburn (David) Short Introduction to Grammar. Aberdeen, 1632, 8vo.

—— Institutiones Grammaticæ. Aberd. 1634. 8vo.

—— Vocabula cum aliis Latinæ Linguae Subsidiis. Hæc Vocabula Omnibus fere Simsoni Rudimentis subjuncta imprimebantur.

9. Williamsonus (R.) Ludimagister Cuprensis. Grammatica Latina ex Despauterio et Linacro præcipuè Concinnata. Edin. 1632, 8vo.

—— Elementa

————— Elementa Linguæ Latinæ è grammaticorum, imprimis, Donati, Despauterij, Erasmi, Liliij, Linacri, et Nebrissenfis, cornucopia grammaticali excerpta. Edin. 1625, 12mo.

Exst. cum Simsonis Rudimentis ap. Moncur. 1709, 12mo.

10. Lightbodius (Geo.) Questiones grammaticæ. Edin. 1660, 8vo.

11. Kirkwodus (Jac.) Ludimagister Primùm Limnuchensis, deinde Kelsoensis. Grammatica facilis, seu nova et artificiosa methodus docendi linguam Latinam: Cui præfiguntur animadversiones in rudimenta nostra vulgaria et grammaticam Despauterianam. Glasg. 1674, 8vo.

————— Prima pars Grammaticæ in Metrum redacta. Edin. 1675, 8vo.

————— Grammatica delienata secundum sententiam plurium. Lond. 1677, 8vo.

————— Grammatica Despauteriana, cum nova novi generis glossa. Editio tertia. Edin. 1711, 8vo.

————— Eadem. Edit. quarta. Edin. 1720, 8vo.

12. Dykes (Patr.) Scholarcha Dunensis, Grammatica Latina. Edin. 1679, 8vo.

————— Ejusdem. Edit. 2^a, multo auctior, Edin. 1685, 8vo.

13. Monro (Jo.) Philosophiæ in Academia Andreapolitana professor. Nova et artificiosa

ficioſa Methodus docendi linguam Latinam. Lond. 1687, 4to.

— Eadem, ab Jo. Forreſto, Ludimagiſtro Lethenſi, nonnihil immutata et ad minorem molem redacta. Edit. 3^a, Edin. 1711, 8vo.

14. Gordonius (Geo.) Pædomathes, ſeu Manuctio Grammaticalis. Lond. 1689, 12mo.

15. Monro (Andr.) Inſtitutio Grammatica. Lond. 1690, 8vo.

16. Hamilton (Wm.) Myſtagogus Lilianus; or a Practical Comment upon Lilly's Accidence. Lond. 1692, 8vo.

17. Sanders (Gul.) Primùm Matheſios in Academia Andreapolitana Profeſſor, poſtea Ludimagiſter Perthenſis. Inſtitutiones Grammaticæ ſuccinctæ ac faciles. Edin. 1701, 8vo.

18. Hunter (John) Miniſter of the Goſpel of Ayr. New Method of teaching the Latin Tongue, in ſuch a natural order, as a child may learn that language more ſpeedily than by any other Grammar yet extant. Cellæ S. Brigidæ, 1711, 8vo.

19. Watt (Tho.) ſchoolmaſter of Haddington. Grammar made Eaſy; containing Deſpauter's Grammar reformed. Together with a Method of teaching Latin by ten Engliſh particles. Edin. 1714. 8vo.

20. Ruddiman (Tho.) Keeper of the Advocates Library, and sometime Schoolmaster at Laurence-Kirk in the Mearns. Rudiments of the Latin Tongue. 1st ed. Edin. 1714, 8vo.

13th ed. somewhat more correct than the former. Edin. 1755, 8vo.

—Rudimens de la Langue Latine ; ou Introduction simple et aisée à la Grammaire Latine, traduit de l'Anglois. [de Mons. Ruddiman] par J. a Porte, Ministre du St. Evangile, et Regent au College de Geneve. Geneve, 1742, 8vo.

21. Bayne (James) Schoolmaster of Dunfermline. Short Introduction to the Latin Grammar. Edin. 1714, 8vo.

22. Crawford (Hugh) Schoolmaster of Mauchlin. A plain and easy Latin Grammar. Glasg. 1721, 8vo.

23. Ruddimannus (Tho.) Grammaticæ Latinæ Institutiones, facili et ad puerorum captum accommodatâ Methodo perscriptæ. Edit. 1^{ma}, Edin. 1725, 8vo.

Ejusdem, editio 7^a, prioribus emendatior. Edin. 1756, 8vo.

Eadem Grammaticæ Latinæ Institutiones, &c. Additæ sunt in provectionum gra-

- tiam notæ perpetuæ, &c. pars prima, quæ est de Etymologia. Edin. 1725, 8vo.
- Earundum cum notis, pars 2^a, quæ est de Syntaxi. Edin. 1731, 8vo.
24. Trotterus (Rob.) Ludimagister Dumfriensis. Grammaticæ Latinæ Compendium. Edin. 1732, 8vo.
- Eadem. Edin. 1733, 8vo.
- Hæc falsò se Editionem secundam perhibet, mentiturque impressam. Edin. 1733, 8vo.
25. Love (John) Schoolmaster first of Dunbarton, and afterwards of Dalkeith. Animadversions on Mr. Robert Trotter's Latin Grammar. Edin. 1733, 8vo.
26. Ruddiman (Tho.) A Dissertation upon the Way of teaching the Latin Tongue; wherein the Objections raised against his Grammar are answered and confuted; and the vulgar Practice, of teaching Latin by a Grammar writ in the same language, is justified: With some Critical Remarks on Mr. Jo. Clark of Hull, his new Latin Grammar, &c. Edin. 1733, 8vo.
27. Purdie (Ja.) Schoolmaster of Glasgow. Index to the Etymology of Mr. Ruddiman's Grammar. Glasg. 1733, 8vo.
28. Stirling (Jo.) Introduction to the four Parts of Latin Grammar, &c. This, after a
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singular,

singular, and (I may say) a very idle manner, Mr. Stirling hath subjoined to most of the authors published by him; such as Corderius, Eutropius, &c. 8vo.

29. Mair (John) Schoolmaster of Air. Introduction to Latin Syntax; or an Exemplification of the Rules of Construction, as delivered in Mr. Ruddiman's Rudiments. Edin. 1755, 8vo.

THE APPENDIX, No. 5.

Various Proceedings, with regard to the *Use* of Ruddiman's Rudiments and Grammar in the *High School* of Edinburgh. [See before, p. 96.]

[No. 1.]

Edin^r, 2 Feb^r 1785.

THE Lord Provost represented [to the Town-Council] that the present method of teaching two grammars in the High School is much complained of, and that it would be proper at this time to make regulations; that peace and good order might be kept up in the said school.

His lordship therefore proposed that the Council remit to the Principal of the college, professors Dalzel, and Hill, to take these matters under their consideration.—That copies of all acts of Council, containing regulations for the High School, be put into their hands, with a recommendation to them, to report their opinion what grammar should be taught, and what regulations the Council should make, for promoting peace and good order in said school.

[No.

[No. 2.]

Report on the foregoing Remit.

The Principal of the University of Edin', with the professors of Greek, and Humanity, having been desired by their honourable patrons, to report their opinion, concerning the grammar, which ought to be taught in the High School of this city, and also concerning such regulations as may be proper for promoting peace and good order in that school; and having been at the same time furnished with copies of the Acts of Council relative to those subjects on former occasions; Do, after mature deliberation, humbly offer the following opinion to their honourable patrons.

WITH respect to the proper grammar to be taught in the High School. — As the late Mr. Ruddiman's Rudiments and Grammar, being the works of a very learned, judicious, and experienced master in the Latin tongue, have been for many years, and now are, taught, almost universally in the schools of this kingdom, and are at present the grammatical books used by the

four ordinary masters of the High School, the said principal, and professors think, that the use of these books ought to be continued in the said school: But, in order that the several classes, that are brought forward to the rector in succession by the said masters, may be taught grammar in an uniform manner, the principal, and professors are of opinion, that the four masters should be appointed to meet together, and after the most mature consultation to select and mark out such rules or parts of rules in Ruddiman's Grammar, as they think necessary to be taught, and uniformly to teach and apply those rules to their several classes; and that then it should be recommended to the rector to continue the use of said rules with the scholars that attend his class. At same time, if he finds it necessary to add any other rules, or any other grammatical observations, which he may deem useful, particularly in connecting the English with the Latin grammar, that he may do this from the grammar published by himself; and they have no doubt that his own discretion and sollicitude for the improvement of his scholars will lead him to avoid loading their memories with the repetition of new rules, of the same import with those, which they have already learned.

2. As to the discipline of the school, the said principal, and professors think, that it would be of great benefit to the scholars, if the public hall
were

were commodiously fitted up, so as to give all the classes, with their masters, an opportunity to assemble every morning for prayers, as formerly was the practice, previous to the building of the new school house, and also in the forenoon of every Saturday for public examinations, and public repetition of select passages from the poets, historians, and orators; and for such parts of discipline as the rector and masters may find it proper to exercise there, for the general good order of the school. And lastly, for information respecting the relative duties of the rector, and masters, the said principal, and professors beg leave to refer their honourable patrons to what is contained in those particular points in the Act of Council, dated 8 Feb^y 1710, which the said principal, and professors find to express such injunctions as intirely correspond with their own sentiments on those subjects. Given under our hands, and dated 15 Octo^r 1785.

A Copy from the Act of Council, 8 Feb^y 1710, so far as relates to the discipline of the School, referred to in the foregoing Report of the Principal and Professors.

CONCERNING the discipline of the school, it will be convenient that the discipline of each class be exercised as it was some years ago by

its proper masters in all ordinary cases; but in great faults or disorders the boys that are guilty are to be chastised by the rector himself, that they may be ashamed, and others frightened from the like faults.— That as all the masters have the immediate charge of teaching and discipline in their respective classes, so the rector shall have the same charge not only in his own class, but take care also that all the masters wait punctually on the school at the ordinary dyet, be diligent and faithful in their business; and if any of them should either neglect his duty, or perform it superficially, or should not observe a prudent constant course of discipline, and good order, the rector is then to admonish him privately for the first time; for the second before all his colleagues, and if he regard not that, the rector is without delay to represent the matter to the Magistrates and Town Council.

[No. 3.]

Unto the Right Honourable the Lord Provost and Magistrates, &c. of Edinburgh;
the Representation of the Masters of the
High School of Edinburgh.

THE masters having met, at the desire of the honourable the Magistrates and Town Council, to consider a report transmitted to them, from a
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very respectable committee of the University, relative to the Latin Grammar most usefull for instructing their pupils in the principles of that language, unanimously resolved to represent, and hereby do humbly represent, to their honourable patrons, 1st That the Rudiments of the Latin tongue, published by the learned and judicious Thomas Ruddiman, is the best book, they have yet seen, for teaching children the first principles of Latin. 2nd That the Latin Grammar, published by the same author, is in their opinion the best system of Latin Grammar, that has hitherto been taught in Scotland. 3rd That many sensible men have doubted, whether the rudiments or first principles of Latin, ought to be taught in Latin, or in the mother tongue, or in both; but that to boys who have learned the first principles, the other grammatical rules and observations ought to be communicated in Latin, is a point about which hardly any doubt has been entertained. 4th That although the language of grammar must differ from the language of the historian, the poet, and the orator, yet it is still the Latin language; and boys, while they learn Latin grammar, learn the Latin language at the same time. 5th That a person who has acquired the first principles of French or Italian will learn either of these languages much sooner if he lives in France or Italy, than if he continues in his native country; and the fewer of his own countrymen he converses with, he will learn these or any foreign language the sooner.

sooner. 6th That when once a boy has learned the first principles of Latin, the grammar in Latin ought to be put into his hands, the Latin rules ought to be committed to memory, and the illustrations of these rules, by questions, answers, and examples, ought to be as much as possible in Latin; for this in some sort resembles an emigration to ancient Rome, where business of every kind is transacted in the (Latin) language of that country. 7th That it is impossible for them to mark out the rules of Mr. Ruddiman's Grammar, which they will certainly and uniformly teach during the course of four years in their respective classes, for that must depend in a great measure on the age and capacity of their pupils: but they consider the whole system as necessary to be read and understood, and the more of the rules that can be committed to memory, and retained by frequent repetition, the better. 8th That if the rector of the school take up the same grammar, where they leave it, and continue the boys in the same train of repetitions, and faithful application of rules; and if the Professor of Humanity, in the University, succeed the rector of the school in the same exercises, this unity of plan and of execution, in their opinion, must promote the knowledge of the Latin language more than any other method known to them. 9th That they would look upon it as a great advantage if only one Latin grammar was taught through the whole kingdom; and that the grammar ought to be the book

book recommended by the experience of the greatest number of the most judicious teachers, for this would tend to unite schools and colleges, to direct the views of masters and scholars to one object, and connect them more closely with the Republic of Letters in Europe. 10th That the great schools in England, which have maintained their characters for ages, and educated many scholars of the first eminence, have for centuries persisted, and still do persist, in teaching Latin grammar in the Latin language, and in verse rules, for the sake of memory. 11th That Mr. Ruddiman's grammatical works introduced themselves into all the most considerable schools of this country by their intrinsic merit alone, by which they still maintain their ground, and probably will do so for ages to come; and many teachers and scholars of character, who have already learned some other system of grammar, convinced of the superior excellence of this, applied themselves to the study of the Latin language with much satisfaction and improvement. 12th That if two Latin grammars in one country seem hurtful, two in one seminary must seem much more hurtful, and naturally tend to produce discontents and animosities between teachers; confusion, perplexity, and ignorance among scholars; and among boys of less discernment they may produce a disgust at manly hardiness and useful labour, and perhaps at last a settled contempt of all grammatical and literary researches. 13th That they are persuaded their success in teaching depends

pende on their faithful and diligent prosecution of the plan above recommended, and are fully convinced their honourable patrons will never require them to give their countenance to mutilating, abridging, altering, or corrupting, Mr. Ruddiman's Grammar in any way whatever. 14th That they have carefully avoided all critical strictures upon the comparative merit of authors, nor would they be thought to depreciate the well-meant industry of any man; they only beg leave to hint, that so long as their labours are so acceptable to the public, and their classes so well attended, the rector never can suffer by following the same plan of teaching with them. 15th That the plan of school discipline, so judiciously marked out by the Act of Council 1710, they heartily approve, provided they could see the least probability of its being carried into execution with temper, prudence, and cordiality.—The masters of the High School cannot conclude this representation without returning their warmest and most sincere thanks to their honourable patrons, by whose spirited and generous aid, at the head of an approving and liberal community, they are provided with the best teaching apartments in Britain; and by whose unremitting exertions this city is beautified, extended, and improved in every quarter, and strangers are encouraged to settle here for the education of their children.—At the same time they are happy in assuring the Magistrates and Council that they will continue to employ their best endeavours in

in promoting the improvement of the youth committed to their care, which they consider as the most suitable return they can make to their honourable patrons and benefactors. 7 Nov^r 1785. Signed by the four masters, Ja^s French, Luke Frazer, W^m Cruickshank, and W^m Nicoll.

[No. 4.]

The Remonstrance and Petition of the four Masters of the High School, humbly sheweth,

THAT, whereas a Committee of University appointed by the Magistrates in consequence of the complaints against the teaching of two grammars, to determine which of the two ought to have the preference, have given in a report still sustaining and authorising the teaching of both.

1. The said masters have had 13 years experience of the effects of teaching two grammars on the education of the youth under their care.
2. That they have found their pupils, instead of being improved at the end of the fifth or sixth year under the rector in grammatical knowledge, from an almost total disuse of the rules they had formerly been taught, mislead in that essential particular, and much more ignorant of grammar than they were at the end of the fourth year.

3. That

3. That by this means their labours, and the progress of the youth in that essential branch of education, have been greatly obstructed, nay almost totally blasted.
4. That the present decision of the Committee, notwithstanding the reference to them from the Magistrates expressly were that they should determine, which of the two grammars ought to have the preference, does in no degree tend to obviate, but to perpetuate the evil, by authorising the absurd notion of still continuing both.
5. That altho the rector should, contrary to his practice hitherto, teach and apply such rules of Ruddiman's Grammar as his pupils have been used to previous to their entering his class, yet as he is left at liberty as above mentioned to carry them on in the more advanced parts of grammar on whatever plan he pleases, however vague and however inadequate, instead of pursuing the well-known solid system long ago adopted by every judicious teacher in this kingdom, it is too obvious the labour of the masters and the progress of their pupils will in the end be in a great measure frustrated, and the consequence be, that a finished Latin scholar will never, in spite of the most conscientious and painful industry, be produced in the school—an observation that has been already made

made by some persons with too much truth.

6. That your petitioners are unanimously and decidedly of opinion that two grammars in one school are incompatible with the good of that school.

7. That they are unanimously and clearly of opinion that Ruddiman's Grammar is beyond comparison the most compleat and correct system of Latin grammar that ever was published; and that they cannot in character or conscience forbear, with however great reluctance, remonstrating against the teaching of any other grammar whatever, as by so doing they would expose themselves to the censure of the world, and incur the guilt of betraying the best interest of classical education in this metropolis, and of diffusing the example through the kingdom.

8. That your petitioners with gratitude acknowledge that they owe a considerable portion of what classical knowledge they possess to that learned and judicious work; and some of them, after finishing their studies at the University, upon entering seriously into the practice of the profession, did lay aside the grammar they had been taught at school, as erroneous and defective, and were at pains, after they were grown up to be men, to commit to memory as much as they could retain

tain of Ruddiman's Grammar, as a complete and infallible directory in teaching, prompted solely by a strong conviction of its superior merit and utility.

Your petitioners therefore, confiding intirely in the wisdom and patronage of their honourable patrons, who have ever conjunctly and individually, in a public and private capacity, shewn themselves deeply attentive to the interests of this seminary, hope they will maturely re-consider the matter, and see cause to rescind such part of said report, as ordains the teaching of two grammars, and restore the youth of this place, and the grammatical labours of the learned Mr. Ruddiman, to their just rights. And your petitioners shall ever pray!

[No. 5.]

At Edinb^r, the 23 of August 1786 Years.

WHICH day the right honourable the Lord Provost, the Magistrates, and Council of the city of Edinburgh, being assembled—The Council having again taken into consideration the situation of the High School, and the different grammars made use of by the masters, they appointed the rector and other masters to teach and instruct their scholars by Ruddiman's Rudiments and Grammar, and

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prohibited

prohibited and discharged any other grammar to be used in the High School, and appointed extracts of this act to be transmitted to the rector and other masters.

[No. 6.]

At Edinb^r, the 29th of Novem^r 1786.

WHICH day the right honourable the Lord Provost, the Magistrates, and Council, of the city of Edinburgh, being assembled—Read letter from Dr. Adam, rector of the High School, relative to his teaching his scholars by Ruddiman's Rudiments and Grammar; which being considered, the Council, as patrons of the High School, ordered and directed the rector, and other masters, of the High School, to teach and instruct their scholars by Ruddiman's Rudiments and Grammar, and prohibited, and discharged any other rudiments, or grammar, to be taught or made use of by the rector, or other masters, in any of the classes of the said School; with certification to those, who shall disobey or counteract this injunction, that they will do so at their peril, and incur the displeasure of their patrons.—Ordered extracts to be sent to the rector and each of the other masters, without abiding a reading in Council.

Extracted from the Records,
by Jos. Williamson.

THE APPENDIX, No. 6.

A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST of NEWS PAPERS, from the Epoch of the Civil Wars. [See before, p. 114.]

THE Diurnal Occurrences, or Daily Proceedings of Both Houses, in this great and happy Parliament, from the 3d of November, 1640, to the 3d of November, 1641.— London: printed for William Cooke, and are to be sold at his Shop at Furnifall's-Inne Gate, in Holbourne, 1641.

1640 Nov. 3 to June 1641.—The speeches in parliament were published, in 2 vols. pp. 534, 1641, for Wm. Cooke.

1641-2 March 7.—Diurnal Occurrences of Parliament.—No. 9.

1641 Nov. 22 to 29.—Diurnal Occurrences; or The Heads of the several Proceedings, in the present Parliament. London: printed for John Thomas, 1641.

1641-2 Jan. 10 to 17.—The Diurnal, &c. London: for F. Coules and T. Banks. (Averred by J. B.)—No. i.

1641-2

1641-2 Jan. 11 to Feb. 3.—Ireland's True Diurnal; sent from an Alderman in Dublin to his Son in London. London: printed for Wm. Bladen.

1641.—Warranted Tidings from Ireland. London: printed for Butter, 4to. pp. 5.—There were many occasional papers of news from Ireland, during the Irish wars.

1642.—A Speedy Post, with more News from Hull.

1642 May 23 to 30.—The Heads of all the Proceedings of both Houses of Parliament. London: printed for J. Smith and A. Coe, 1642.

1642 May 24 to 2d June.—Some special passages from London, Westminster, York, Ireland, and other parts, collected for the satisfaction of those that desire true information. Printed for Tho. Baker.

1642 June 13 to 20.—A perfect Diurnal of the Passages in Parliament. No. 1.—It contains the news communicated to parliament.

1642 July 16 to 26.—A Diurnal and Particulars of the last Week's Daily Occurrences from his Majesty in several Places. Printed by T. F. for D. C.

1642 August.—Special Passages from several Places.

1642 Dec. 20 to 27.—The Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer.—No. 1.

1642-3 Jan. 1.—*Mercurius Aulicus*, a Diurnal, communicating the Intelligence and Affairs of the Court to the rest of the Kingdom. Oxford: printed by H. Hall, for W. Webb, bookseller, near to Queen's College.—The author was the well-known Sir John Birkenhead.

1642-3 Jan. 9 to 16.—Certain Informations from several Parts of the Kingdom.—No. 1.

1642-3 Jan. 23 to 30.—*The Daily Intelligencer of Court, City, and Country*, relating the most remarkable Passages in either, which may save much Labour in writing Letters. London: printed for John Thompson.—No. 1.

1643 May 18 to 25.—*Mercurius Civicus: London's Intelligencer*.—No. 3.—It is ornamented with a great variety of wooden cuts; and this number, containing a vote of parliament with regard to the Queen, is ornamented with her majesty's portraiture.

1643 June 9 to 16.—*The Parliament's Scout's Discovery*.—No. 1.

1643 July 19.—*Wednesday's Mercury; or Special Passages: collected for those, who wish to be informed*.—No. 1.

1643 Aug. 16 to 22.—*Mercurius Britannicus*.—No. 1.—The author was the able and changeful Marchmont Nedham.

1643.

1643 Sept. 23 to 30.—The True Informer.—
No. 1.

1643 Aug. 30 to Sept. 7.—The Weekly Account, &c.—No. 1.

1643 Oct. 13 to 17.—The Scotch Intelligencer:
or The Weekly News from Scotland and
the Court.—No. 1.

1643 Oct. 27 to Nov. 3.—Informator Rusticus:
or the Country Intelligencer.—No. 1.

1643 Oct. 21 to 28.—The Welch Mercury;
communicating remarkable intelligences and
and true News to the whole Kingdom.—
No. 1.

1643 Sept. 30 to Oct. 6.—*The Scotch Dove*, sent
out and returning, &c. London, 4to.—
No. 1. It has a wooden cut, representing the
dove with her sprig.

1643 Nov. 2 to 9.—The Kingdom's Weekly
Post, with his Packet of Letters.—No. 1.
—It has a wooden cut, representing The
Post on horse-back.

1643 Oct. 23 to 30.—Mercurius Cambro Britan-
nicus. The British Mercury; or the Welch
Diurnal.—No. 1.

1643-4 Jan. 23.—Mercurius Viridicus.

1643-4 Jan. 23 to 30.—The Spie; communi-
cating Intelligence from Oxford.—No. 1.
—[Written by Durant Hothan, Sir John's
son.]

1643-4 Feb. 6 to 13.—*Mercurius Anglicus*: or a Post from the North, &c.—No. 1.

1643-4 Feb. 19 to 26.—The Military Scribe: publishing the true warlike Relations to the People.—No. 1.

1643-4 March 12 to 19.—Britain's Remembrancer; of the most remarkable Passage in both Kingdoms.—No. 1.

1644 March 18 to May 13.—Intelligence from the South Borders of Scotland: written from Edinburgh.—No. 8.

1644 May 8 to 15.—Chief Heads of each Day's Proceedings in Parliament.

1644 June 7.—*Mercurius Fumigosus*; or the Smoaking Nocturnal.—No. 1.

1644 June 22 to July 2.—The Court *Mercurie*: containing the most remarkable Passages of the King's Army. Printed by Tho. Forget. No. 1.

1644 July 10.—*Le Mercure Anglois*. This French paper had been formerly published for two or three weeks, but discontinued: from this time it was published at London, weekly, on Thursday morning at 9 o'clock.

1644 July 30 to Aug. 6.—The London Post.—No. 1.

1644 Sept. 13 to Sept. 20.—The Country Messenger; or the Faithful Foot Post; containing his Weekly Intelligence, &c.

1644. — Mercurius Hibernicus. Printed at Bristol.

1645 March 27 to 3 April. — The Moderate Intelligencer.

1645 April 12 to 19. — Mercurius Viridicus, &c. — No. 1.

1645 May 6 to 13. — The Parliament's Post. — No. 1.

1645 July 24 to Aug. 28 — Heads of some Notes out of the City; or The Scout. — No. 5.

1645 July 22 to Oct. 14. — The City Scout. — No. 12.

1645 Oct. 15. — The Kingdom's Weekly Post. (according to order.)

1645 Nov. 25 to Dec. 2. — The Kingdom's Scout. No. 1.

1645-6 Jan. 1 to Feb. 16. — An exact and true Collection of Weekly Passages, to shew the error of the *Weekly* Pamphlets; by authority: to be communicated from month to month.

1645-6 Feb. 2. — Mercurius Academicus.

1645-6 Feb. 16 to Mar. 2. — An exact and true Collection of the most remarkable Proceedings of Parliament, and Armies.

1645-6 March 7. — The Western Informer. — No. 1.

1645. — A Diary, or an exact Journal of the most remarkable Proceedings of both Ho. of Parliament.

1645.—Perfect Passages of each Day's Proceedings, &c.

1645.—Perfect Occurrences of Parliament, the chief Collections of Letters from the Army.

1645.—Perfect Diurnal, &c.

1646 May 6.—General News from all Parts of Christendom.—No. 1.

1646 Oct. 13 to 20.—The Military Actions of Europe; as also the Councils made public relating thereto; collected weekly for the Tuesday's Post.—No. 1.

1646 Nov. 25 to Dec. 2.—Diutinus Britannicus, Collector of the Affairs of Great Britain, and Martial Proceedings in Europe.—No. 1.—In No. 3. dated December 8, 1646. This title was changed to Mercurius Diutinus.

1646-7 Jan. 7 to 14.—*The London Post*.—No. 1.

1646-7 Jan. 20 to 27.—Mercurius Candidus: Weekly News.—No. 1.

1646-7 Feb. 16 to 23.—The Moderate Messenger.—No. 22.

1647 Mercurius Medicus: or a sovereign Salve for these sick Times.—No. 1.—The year 1647 was remarkable for the contest between the Parliament and the Army.

1647 June 17.—Mercurius Britannicus.—No. 1.

1647 July 26.—A *Perfect Summary* of the chief Passages in Parliament, &c.

1647·Sept. 4 to 11.—Mercurius Melancholicus:
or News from Westminster and other
Parts.—No. 1.

Rex Carole, a te Valeat Ita
e Vangelivm Scotiâ,
per te, Vigeat Hiberniâ,
Vt in te, floreat in Angliâ,
Legis, & pacis gratia.

Eheu! quid feci misero mihi? Floribus Austrum,
Perditus, & liquidis immisi fontibus Apros.

Woe is me, undone, with blasts the flowers doe fade,
The Chrystal springs by Swine, are puddle made.

Printed in the yeere 1647.

J. H.

1647 Sept. 14 to 21—Mercurius Pragmaticus:
Communicating Intelligence from all Parts,
touching all Affaires, Designes, Humours,
and Conditions, throughout the Kingdome,
especially from Westminster and the Head-
Quarters.—No. 1.

When as we liv'd in Peace (God wot)
A King would not content us,
But we (for sooth) must hire the Scot
To-all-be Parliament us.

Then down went King and Bishops too,
On goes the holy wirke.
Betwixt them and the Brethren blew,
T'advance the Crowne and Kirke.

But when that these had reign'd a time,
Rob'd Kirke and Sold the Crowne,
A more Religious fort up climbe,
And crush the Jockies downe.

But

But now we must have Peace againe,
 Let none with feare be vext;
 For, if without the Kinge these reigne,
 Then heigh downe they goe next.

— By Marchmont Needham, says
 Anthony Wood.

1647 Sept. 17 to 24.—Mercurius Clericus: or
 News from Syon.—No. 1.

1647 Sept. 23 to 30.—Mercurius Anti-Pragmaticus.—No. 1.

1647 Nov. 4 to 11.—Mercurius Populus; or
 News declaring plain Truth to the People.
 No. 1.

1647 Nov. 12.—Mercurius Rusticus: News from
 the severall Counties.

1647 Nov. 13 to 20.—Mercurius Bellicus: or
 an Alarm to all Rebels.—No. 1.

1648 Jan. 31 to Feb. 7.—MERCURIUS ELENCTICUS: Communicating the unparallel'd Proceedings at Westminster, the Head-Quarters, and other Places, discovering their Designs, reproving their Crimes, and advising the Kingdome.—No. 1.

—— Ridentem dicere verum,
 Quid vetat?

To kill the King eight yeares agon
 Was counted Highest Treason:
 But now 'tis deemed just, and done
 As consonant to Reason.

The

The Temple was esteemed then
Sacred and Venerable :
Adorn'd with grave and godly Men,
But now 'tis made a Stable,

'Twas Criminall to violate
The wholesome Lawes o' th' Nation ;
But (now we have a lawlesse State,)
'Tis done by Proclamation.

Both Prince and People liv'd in Peace ;
The Land with Wealth abounded :
But now those Blessings fade and cease,
Thankes to the cursed Round-head.

1648 May 12 to 19.—Mercurius Honestus: or
News from Westminster.—No. 1.

1648 May 25 to June 1.—Mercurius Censorius;
News from the Isle of Wight.—No. 1.

1648 May 12 to June 16.—The Parliament Kite:
or The Tell-tale Bird. London, 4to, pp. 8.
No. 5.

1648 June 15 to 22.—The Parliament Vulture;
News from all Parts of the Kingdom.
London, 4to. pp. 8.—No. 1.

1648 June 23 to 30.—The Parliament's Screech
Owle; or Intelligence from several Parts.—
No. 1.

1648 July 11 to 18.—The Moderate: Impar-
tially communicating Martial Affairs to the
Kingdom.—No. 1.

1648 July 11.—Packets of Letters.—No. 17.

1648 July 25 to 31.—The Royal Diurnal.—
No. 1.

1648,

1648.—The Colchester Spie.—No. 1.

1648 Aug. 17 to 24.—Mercurius Fidelicus.—
No. 1.

1648 Aug. 21 to 28.—The Parliament Porter :
or the Door-Keeper of the House of Com-
mons.—No. 1.

1648 Sept. 28 to Oct. 5.—Mercurio Volpone :
or the Fox. For the better Information of
His Majesty's loyal Subjects, prying into
every Junto; proclaiming their Designs ;
and reforming all Intelligence.—No. 1.

1648 Oct. 10 to 17.—Mercurius Militaris : or
the Armies Scout, &c.—No. 1.

1648 Oct. 7 to Nov. 8.—The True Informer :
or Monthly Mercury; being the certain In-
telligence of Mercurius Militaris. To be
continued Monthly.—No. 1.

1648 Dec. 7.—The Moderate Intelligencer.—
No. 1.

1648 Dec 4 to 11.—A Trance : or News from
Hell, brought fresh to Town, by Mercurius
Acheronticus.—No. 1.

1648-9 Feb. 2 to 9.—The Kingdom's faithful
and impartial Scout.—No. 1.

1648-9 March 1 to 7.—The Impartial Intelli-
gencer.—No. 1.

1649 April 7.—A modest Narrative of Intelli-
gence, fitted for the Republic of England
and Ireland.—No. 1.

1649 April 23 to 30.—England's Moderate Mes-
senger.—No. 1.

1649 May 2 to 9.—The Perfect Weekly Account, &c. &c.

1649 May 14 to 21.—Mercurius Philo-Monarchicus.—No. 1.

1649 May 22 to 29.—Mercurius Republicus.—No. 1.

1649 April 10 to 17.—The Man in the Moon, discovering a World of Knavery under the Sunne.—No. 1.

1649 June 14 to 21.—The Moderate Mercury.—No. 1.

1649 July 16 to 23.—A Tuesdaies Journal of perfect Passages in Parliament, &c. &c.—No. 1.—This is ornamented with the Arms of the Republic.

1649 Aug. 9 to 16.—Great Britain's Paine-full Messenger.—No. 1.

1649 Aug. 30 to Sept. 6.—Mercurius Hibernicus.—No. 1.

1649 Sept. 24 to Oct. 1.—The Weekly Intelligencer.—No. 1.

1649 Sept. 24 to Oct. 1.—A Brief Relation of some Affairs Civil and Military.—No. 1.

1649-50 Dec. 20 to 27.—A perfect Diurnal of some Passages of the Armies in England and Ireland. Licensed by the Secretary of the Army.—No. 1.

1649-50 Jan. 30 to Feb. 6.—The Irish Monthly Mercury.—No. 1.

1650 June 6 to 13.—MERCURIUS POLITICUS:

comprising the Summ of all Intelligence, with the Affairs and Designs now on Foot, in the three Nations of England, Ireland, and Scotland. In Defence of the Commonwealth, and for Information of the People.—No. 1.

——Itâ vertere Seria Ludo.

Hor. de Ar. Poet.

1650 Sept. 24 to Oct. 1.—*Mercurius Anglicus*, &c. London, 4to.—No. 1.

1650-1 Dec. 27 to Jan. 3.—*The Faithful Scout*, &c.—No. 1.

1651 July 28 to Aug. 4.—*Mercurius Scoticus*.—No. 1.

1651 Sept. 22 to 29.—*The Diary* (a Weekly paper).—No. 1.

1651 Nov. 18 to 25.—*The French Intelligencer*, faithfully communicating the chief Proceedings of the King of Scots, the King of France, and the Prince of Condè, &c. London, printed by Ro. Wood.—No. 1.

1651-2 Jan. 28 to Feb. 4.—*Mercurius Bellonius*.—No. 1.

1651-2 March 17 to 25.—*The Dutch Spy*, faithfully communicating the most choice Intelligence from the States General, with their Designs now on foot, &c. London, 4to. No. 1.

1652 April 1 to 7.—*Mercurius Democritus*: or a *Nocturnal*, communicating wonderful

News from the World in the Moon.—No. 1.

1652 April 22.—*Mercurius Phreneticus*. A Weekly Paper.

1652 April 22.—*Mercurius Zeteticus*. Hebdomeda prima.

1652 April 22.—The Theme, Scoto-Presbyter.

1652 May 10 to 17.—The French Occurrences.—No. 1.

1652 May 10 to 17.—Intelligence of the Civil War in France.—No. 1.

1652 June 21 to 28.—*Mercurius Heraclitus*: or the Weeping Philosopher (a Weekly Paper)—No. 1.

1652 July 19 to 26.—*Mercurius Britannicus*.—No. 1.

1652 Aug. 20 to 27.—*Mercurius Mastix*, faithfully lashing all Scouts, Mercuries, Posts, Spyes, and others.—No. 1.

1652 Aug. 25 to Sept. 8.—The Laughing Mercury: or true and perfect News from the Antipodes.—No. 22.

1652 Sept. 2 to 8.—The Dutch Intelligencer.—No. 1.

1652 Oct. 26 to Nov. 1.—*Mercurius Britannicus*: for Ja. Cottrel.—No. 15.

1652.—*Mercurius - Cambro - Britannicus*: or News from Wales.

1652-3 Dec. 20 to 27.—A true and perfect Dutch Diurnal (a Weekly Paper).—No. 1.

1652-3 Jan. 23 to 30.—The Loyal Intelligencer.—No. 73.

1652-3 Feb. 20 to 27.—Mercurius Poetus, comprising the Sum of all Intelligence, Foreign and Domestic.—No. 1.

1652-3 March 13 to 20. —Mercurius Aulicus.—No. 1.

1653 Feb. 4 to 11.—The Faithful Post: for G. Horton.—No. 1.

1653 April 8 to 15.—The Moderate Publisher of every Day's Intelligence.—No. 93.

1653 June 1 to 8.—Mercurius Pragmaticus.—No. 1.

1653 June 17.—The Daily Proceedings of the Armies by Sea and Land, under the Command of his Excellency the Lord General Cromwell. By Authority.

1653 June 20 to 27.—Mercurius Radamanthus: The chief Judge of Hell, his Circuit thro' all the Courts of Law in England.—No. 1.

1653 July 4.—Several Proceedings of Parliament.—No. 1.—[This was Cromwell's Parliament, which sat from 4th July to 26th, 1653.]

1653 Aug.—Mercurius Classicus: communicating some choice Intelligence, Domestic and Foreign.—No. 1.

1653 Sept. 14.—A further Continuance of the Grand Political Informer, &c.

1653 Nov. 2.—Great Britain's Post.—No. 136.

1653 Nov. 2.—Mercurius Democritus; a true and perfect *Nocturnal*.—No. 80.

1653.—The Armies Scout.

1653-4

1653-4 Dec. 30th to Jan. 6.—The True Informer, for T. Lock.

1653-4 Jan. 4 to 11. — The Politique Post. No. 12.—

1653-4 Jan. 17.—The Grand Politique Post, &c.—No. 127.

1654.—The Blood's Almanack, or Monthly Observations and Predictions.

1654 May 1 to 8.—The Weekly Post. Horton. —No. 177.

1654 June 7.—Mercurius Fumigofus; or The Smoaking Nocturnal.—No. 1.

1654 July 14 to 21. — Mercurius Jocosus; or The Merry Mercury.

1655 Oct. 1 to 8.—The Public Intelligencer, for Henry Hills.—No. 1.

1656.—There seem to have been in this year few or no additional news-papers set up. The Public Intelligencer, and Mercurius Politicus, were the two chief papers in 1655, 56, 57, 58, 59, and were both published by order of Parliament.—In the year 1657 the collector of the King's tracts ceased (as he says himself) from his great pains and labour; as the publications became less numerous and interesting.

1657 May 19 to 26.—The Public Advertiser. This is a weekly news-paper, which was printed for Newcomb in Thames-Street, and consists almost wholly of advertisements,

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with

with the arrival, and departure, of shipping, and with books to be printed.—No. 1.

1658 July 17.—*Mercurius Meretrix*; or the Venereal Spy. Entered at Stationers Hall of this date.

1659 May 3 to 10.—*The Weekly Post*.—No. 1. Upon the meeting of the Parliament restored to freedom, after the death of Cromwell.

1659 May 5 to 12.—*The Moderate Informer*.—No. 1.—All Occurrences, at home and abroad.

1659 April 16 to 23.—*The Faithful Scout*.—No. 1.

1659 May 25.—*The Weekly Account*, on the establishment of a *Free State*.—No. 1.

1659 June 23 to 30.—A particular Advice from the Office of Intelligence, near the Old Exchange, and also Weekly Occurrences from Foreign Parts.—No. 1. for J. Macock. — It was immediately entitled Occurrences from Foreign Parts, &c. published by Authority, and printed under both these titles.

1659 July 19 to 26.—*The Weekly Intelligencer of the Common Wealth*.—No. 1.

1659 Sept. 30 to Oct. 6.—*The Loyal Scout*.—No. 1.

1659 Dec. 19 to 26.—*The Parliamentary Intelligencer*; comprehending the Sum of Foreign Intelligence, &c. &c.—No. 1.

THE

THE RESTORATION.

1660.—MERCURIUS PUBLICUS was continued under the old title; and No. 1. was published on Thursday the 3d January to the 10th of January 1660-1.

1660.—THE PARLIAMENTARY INTELLIGENCER was also continued under the former title; and No. 14, dated from Monday the 26th of March to Monday the 2d of April, was said to be published *by Order of the Council of State*.—The No. 16 began with the following advertisement:—"Whereas Marchmont Nedham, the author of the weekly news-books, called *Mercurius Politicus*, and the *Publique Intelligencer*, is by order of the council of state discharged from writing or publishing any *publique* intelligence, the reader is desired to take notice, that by order of the said council, Giles Dury and Henry Muddiman are authorized henceforth to write and publish the said intelligence, the one upon the Thursday, and the other upon the Monday, which they do intend to set out under the titles of *The Parliamentary Intelligencer*, and of *Mercurius Publicus*."—These two weekly *books of news* which in 1656 had been entered in the stationers register, as the property of Thomas Newcombe, *with the licence of*

Secretary Thurlow, were, on the 9th of April 1660, entered as the property of Dury and Muddiman, by licence of the *council of state*.

1659-60 Jan. 6 to 13.—An exact Account of the Daily Proceedings in Parliament, No. 56, which appears to have been revived upon the fresh meeting of parliament.

1659-60 Feb. 21.—A perfect Diurnal of every Day's Proceedings in Parliament, No. 1.—This paper contains various accounts of the rejoicings all over England, on perceiving the dawn of the Restoration.

1661.—In the Parliamentary Intelligencer (by the Parliament's dissolution having lost its name) this new year [1661] will beget another.

1661.—The Kingdom's Intelligencer, No. 1, began on Monday the 31st of December 1660 to the 6th of January 1661. Published by authority.

1663.—THE PUBLIC INTELLIGENCER; and *the News*, No. 1, began to be published by L'Estrange, on the 31st of August 1663.

1665.—The Oxford Gazette, No. 1, was printed at Oxon, by Leonard Litchfield, and published by authority. It was reprinted, in two small folio pages, at London, by Thomas Newcombe, for the use of some merchants, and gentlemen, who desire the same; and was dated on Monday the 13th of November 1665.

1665-6.—The London Gazette, being No. 24. of the Oxford Gazette, began to be printed

from Thursday, February 1st, to Monday February 5th, by Thomas Newcombe, over against Baynard's Castle, in Thames Street.—The Oxford and London Gazettes were for several years entered on the Stationers Register, as the property of Newcombe, who had formerly published for Thurlow.

1666.—The Current Intelligencer, 4th June.

1666.—Intelligence; by J. Macock.

1668.—The Mercury; or Advertisements concerning Trade.

1669.—London Mercury, City and Country Mercury.

1669.—The Faithful Mercury, imparting News, Foreign and Domestick, 22d July.

The English Intelligence; by Thomas Burrell.

1671.—The Protestant Oxford Intelligence; or Occurrences, Foreign and Domestick; by T. Benskins.

1675-6.—Poor Robin's Intelligence, from the beginning of the World to the Day of the Date hereof, in written figures. Printed by A. P. and T. H. for the general assembly of Hawkers.

1677.—Poor Robin's Intelligence revived.

1677-8.—Poor Robin's public and private Occurrences and Remarks. Printed for T. C. near Fleet-Bridge.

1677-8.—Public Occurrences, truly stated by George Larkin.

1678.—The Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome; or the Popish Courant.—This paper began on the 3d of December 1678, and continued to 13 July 1683.

1679.—Relationes Extraordinariæ.

1679.—Mercurius Civicus; or An Account of Affairs, Domestick and Foreign; by R. Everingham.

1679.—The Weekly Intelligence; or News from City and Country; by Samuel Crouch.

1679.—Friendly Intelligence.

1679-80-1.—Domestick Intelligence; or News from City and Country: published to prevent false Reports. London: printed by Nathaniel Thompson, next the Cross Keys, in Fetter Lane, for Benjamin Harris, at the Stationers Arms, in the Piazza, under the Royal Exchange, Cornhill.

The Rotterdam Courant.

Domestick Intelligence, published gratis, for the promoting of Trade. Printed by N. Thompson, for Benjamin Harris.

1679-80.—True Domestick Intelligence, News both from City and Country; by Nathaniel Thompson.

1679-80-81.—The Current Intelligence, or an impartial Account of Transactions, both Foreign

- reign and Domestick. Printed for John Smith, bookseller in Great Queen Street, 14 February.
- 1679-80. — Loyal Intelligence; or News from City and Country.—March.
- 1679-80. — Catholic Intelligence; or infallible News, both Foreign and Domestick, published for the edification of Protestants. Printed for J. How, in Sweething's Alley, Cornhill.—March.
- 1679.—The English Intelligence. Printed for Thomas Burrell, at the Golden Ball, Fleet Street.—28 July.
- 1679.—The English Courant; or Advice, Domestick and Foreign. Printed for Thomas Burrell.—8 September.
- 1679.—Mercurius Anglicus; or the Weekly Occurrences faithfully transmitted. London: printed by Robert Harford, at the Angel in Cornhill, 16 November 1679; and revived in October 1681, by Richard Baldwin, in the Old Bailey.
- 1679.—English Gazette. Printed for W. E. and sold by Thomas Fox, at the Angel in Westminster Hall.—December 1679.
- 1680.—The Courant Intelligence; or an Impartial Account of Transactions, both Foreign and Domestick. Printed for Allen Banks, book-seller, in Fetter Lane.—13 March.
- 1680.—Westminster Gazette; by Thomas Fox.
- 1680-81-82.—The true Protestant Mercury; or

Occurrences, Foreign and Domestick; by Langley Curtis, beginning the 28th of December: from No. 79. it was printed at the sign of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, near Fleet Bridge.

The Universal Intelligence, for Langley Curtis.

The Epitome of the Weekly News, for Langley Curtis.

1680.—Mercurius Civicus; or the City Mercury, or a true Account of Affairs, both Foreign and Domestick. Printed by R. Everingham, in Eve Mary Lane, for the Author.—March.

1680.—The true Protestant Domestick Intelligence; or News from City and Country. Printed for the Author.—April.

1680.—The Impartial London Intelligencer; or Occurrences, Foreign and Domestick. Printed for Thomas Benskin.

1680.—Mercurius Publicus; or Domestick and Foreign News.

1680 to 83.—Loyal Protestant, and true Domestick Intelligence; or News, both from City and Country, published to prevent the many false, scandalous, and malicious reports. Printed by Nathaniel Thompson.—9 March

1680.—Advice from Parnassus. Printed for H. L.—January.

1680-1.—Protestant Intelligence, Domestick and Foreign. Printed for Fra. Smith, at the sign
of

of the Elephant and Castle, in Cornhill.—No. 1.
February 1st.

1681-2-3.—The Observator; by Sir Roger
L'Estrange.

1681.—The true and impartial Protestant Mer-
cury. Printed for R. Janeway, in Queen's
Head Alley, in Paternoster Row.—No. 1.
27 April.

1681.—The Weekly Pacquet of Advice from
Geneva; or the History of the Reformation.
Printed by N. Thompson.—12 May.

1681-82.—Domestick Intelligence; or News,
both from City and Country, impartially re-
lated. Printed for T. Benskin, in St. Bride's
Church Yard, Fleet Street.—13 May.

1681.—The Haerlem Courant, truly rendered
into English. Published by Henry Rhodes,
next door to the Bear Tavern, in Fleet Street.—
January.

1681.—Heraclitus Ridens.

1681.—Mercurius Bifrons; or the English Janus,
the one side true and serious, the other jo-
cular. Printed for F. B.—February.

1681.—Democritus Ridens; or Comus and
Momus, a new Jest and earnest Pratling, con-
cerning the Times. Printed for Francis Smith.

1681.—The Weekly Discoverer stripped naked,
or Jest in Earnest exposed to View in his pro-
per Colours: Printed for Benjamin Harris.

1681.—The Discoverer stripped naked; or Jest
and Earnest exposed. B. Harris.

1681.—Visions of the Pope.—Printed for T. Benskin.

1681.—The Weekly Visions of the Popish Plot. Printed for T. Benskin.

1681.—Veridicus, communicating the best English News; by William Henchman.

1681.—Weekly Discovery of the Mystery of Iniquity, in the Rebellion in England, 1641; by Benjamin Tooke.

1681.—News from the Land of Chivalry, containing the pleasant and delectable History, and the wonderful and strange Adventures, of Don Rugero de Strangmento, Knight of the Squeaking Fiddle-stick, and of several other Pagon Knights and Ladies. Printed for J. P.

1681.—Dreams.

1682.—London Mercury; or News Foreign and Domestick; by T. Violet.—6th April,

1682.—Protestant Courant; or News Foreign and Domestick: Printed for Richard Baldwin, near the Black Bull, in the Old Bailey.—April.

1682.—London Mercury; or Moderate Intelligencer: by G. Croom, in Thames Street, over against Baynard's Castle.—June.

1682.—Current Domestick and Foreign Intelligencer; by G. Croom.

1682.—Loyal Impartial Mercury; or News Foreign and Domestick: by E. Brooks.—June.

1682.—Moderate Intelligencer. R. Robinson.

1682.—Monthly Recorder of all Occurrences, both

both Foreign and Domestick. Published by Langley Curtis.

1682.—New News Books; or Occurrences Foreign and Domestick. R. Janeway.

1682.—Epitome of Weekly News. Published by Langley Curtis.

1682-3.—Conventicle Courant; setting forth the daily Troubles, Dangers, and Abuses, that loyal Gentlemen meet with by putting the Laws in Execution against unlawful and seditious Meetings. Printed for the assigns of J. Hilton, Gentleman.

1683.—Scotch Memoirs, by way of Dialogue between John and Elymas. Printed, the No. 1 and 2 for William Abbington, and the subsequent numbers for Richard Butts, at the Bear and Orange Tree, in Prince's Street.—Feb.

1683.—Intelligence for promoting Trade. Benjamin Harris.

1683.—Jockey's Intelligencer of Horses and Coaches.—J. Smith.

1687-8.—Public Occurrences, truly stated, with Allowance. Printed by George Larkin, at the Two Swans, without Bishops Gate.—Feb. 21st.—No. 1.

1688.—The Weekly Test Paper. Printed by G. C. [George Croom] for the author.

THE REVOLUTION.

1688.—Orange Intelligence; by G. C. [George Croom]

1688.—London Courant.

1688-9.—Orange Gazette, with Allowance. For Jane Curtis.

1688-9.—London Intelligencer.—John Wallis.

1688-9.—Universal Intelligencer.—John Wallis.

1688-9.—English Courant.

1689.—Geographical Intelligence.

1689.—Haerlem Courant. Printed for John Search.

1689.—The Roman Post Boy: or Weekly Account from Rome. Printed by G. C. [George Croom] for John Mumford.

1689.—The London Mercury; or Moderate Intelligencer. Printed by G. C. [George Croom] at the Blue Ball, in Thames Street.

1689.—The Universal Intelligence. Printed by Thomas More, in the White Fryars.

1689.—A Ramble round the World; by Kainophilus, a Lover of Novelties; to which is added, the Irish Courant. Printed for R. Janeway.—No. 1.—1st of November.

1689-90-91-92.—New Observators; or Mercurius

rius Reformatus; by R. Baldwin and Dan. Newman.

1690.—The Coffee-house Mercury; containing all the remarkable Events that have happened. Printed by J. Aftwood.—4 November.

1690.—Pacquets of Advice from Ireland, with the Irish Courant. J. Hunt.

1690.—Lampoons; or Reflections on Public News Letters. R. Taylor.

1690-1.—Momus Ridens; or Comical Remarks on the Public Reports. Published by R. Taylor.

1691.—Weekly Remarks on the Transactions Abroad. Dan. Newman.

1691.—Pacquet of Advice from France. R. Baldwin.

City Mercury; or Advertisements concerning Trade; by R. Everingham, Benjamin Harris, Mercury and Intelligence Offices, E. Hawkins, &c. for divers years.

Urbanicus and Rusticus; or the City and Country Mercury.

Infernus; or News from the other World: by Tho. Marlow.

English Intelligencer. Tho. Burhill.

Poor Gillan against Poor Robin's Weekly Intelligence.

1691.—The Athenian Mercury, for John Duntton.

1691.—The Athenian Gazette was a *weekly* paper,

paper, which was published by the ever-to-be-remembered John Dunton, at the Raven, in Jewin Street.--By an advertisement in the Athenian Gazette, dated the 8th of February 1696, it appears, that the coffee-houses of London had then, exclusive of the votes of parliament every day, nine news-papers every week. There seems not to have been, in 1696, any daily paper.

As early as the reign of Queen Anne, London enjoyed the luxury of a news-paper, every day. Yet, even, in 1709, there was of daily papers, only published, The Daily Courant.

On every Monday, Wednesday, and Thursday, The Supplement. — The General Remark. — The Female Tatler.—The General Postscript; on every Monday, and Friday.—The British Apollo.

On every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, The London Gazette.—The Postman.—The Postboy.—The Flying Postboy.

On every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, The Review. — The Tatler. — The Rehearsal Revived.—The Evening Post.—The Whisperer.—The Post-boy, Junior.—The City Intelligencer.—And on every Wednesday and Saturday, The Observer: making in all eighteen distinct news-papers, every week.

In 1724, there were published in LONDON, of
Daily Papers, Three: viz.

The Daily Courant. Printed by Buckley,
Amen Corner.

The Daily Post, Meere, Old Bailey.

The Daily Journal, Applebey, near Fleet
Ditch.

Of Weekly Papers, Six: viz.

Mist's Journal, Great Carter Lane.

Freeholder's Journal, Sharp, Ivy Lane.

Applebey's Journal, near Fleet Ditch.

Read's Journal, White Fryers, in Fleet Street,

London Journal, Wilkins, in Little Britain.

Whitehall Journal, Wilkins, in Little Britain.

Of Papers published Three Times every Week,
Seven: viz.

The Post-Man, Leach, Old Bailey.

The Post-boy, James, Little Britain.

The Fly Post, Jenour, Giltspur Street.

The Whitehall Evening Post, Wilkins, in
Little Britain.

The St. James's Post, Grantham, in Pater-
noster Row.

Berrington's Evening Post, Silvester Street,
Bloomsbury.

The Englishman, Wilkins, in Little Britain.

And of Half-penny Posts, published Three Times every Week, Three: viz.

Heathcot's, Baldwin's Gardens.

Parker's, Salisbury Court.

Read's, White Fryers, Fleet Street.

And the London Gazette, twice a week.

Every kind of periodical publication increased abundantly, during the long and active reign of George II. The number of News-papers, which were sold annually, in England, according to a three years average, ending with

1753, was — — 7,411,757.

Ditto, 1760, — — 9,464,790.

With the commencement of hostilities, the annual

number rose, in 1756, to 10,394,146.

and, in 1757, to 11,300,980.

Such publications have increased still more during the present reign. The following is a List of ENGLISH NEWS-PAPERS, in May 1792.

LONDON

LONDON NEWS-PAPERS.

DAILY PAPERS.

Morning Chronicle. No. 1, Shire-lane, Temple-bar.

The Diary. At the office, Salisbury-square.

The Herald. At the office, No. 18, Catherine-street.

The World. At the office, No. 335, Strand.

The Oracle. At the office, No. 132, Strand.

The Times. At the office, Printing-house-square, Black-friars.

The Star. At the office, Temple-bar.

The Argus. No. 5, Catherine-street, Strand.

The Gazetteer. No. 10, Ave-Maria-lane.

Morning Post. At the office, Blake-court, Catherine-street.

Public Ledger. No. 12, Warwick-square, Warwick-lane.

Daily Advertiser. No. 33, Fleet-street.

Public Advertiser. Corner of Ivy-lane, Paternoster-row.

EVENING PAPERS,

Published Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday.

General Evening Post. No. 28, Paternoster-row.

St. James's Chronicle. Corner of Union-street, Black-friars.

London Chronicle. No. 71, St. Paul's-church-yard.

London Evening Post. No. 6, Old Bailey.

English Chronicle. Blake-court, Catherine-street.

Whitehall Evening Post. No. 3, Peterborough-court, Fleet-street.

Published Tuesday, and Saturday.

London Gazette. *Edward Johnstone*, Warwick-lane.

Published Tuesday, and Friday.

Courier de Londres (*in French*), No. 8, Coventry-street, Hay-market.

Published Monday, Wednesday, and Friday.

Lloyd's Evening Post. *Spilbury and Son*, No. 57, Snow-hill.

London Packet. No. 12, Warwick-square, Warwick-lane.

Evening Mail. At the office, Printing-house-square, Black-friars.

WEEKLY PAPERS.

The Craftsman. No. 10, Ave-Maria-lane.

Baldwin's London Weekly Journal. Corner of Union-street, Black-friars.

Westminster Journal. No. 10, Creed-lane, Ludgate-street.

Old British Spy. Same place.

Johnson's British Gazette and Sunday Monitor. No. 4, Ludgate-hill.

Sunday London Gazette. No. 14, Brydges-street, Covent-garden.

Sunday (*London*) Recorder. No. 48, Ludgate-hill.

Sunday Review. No. 10, Orange-street, Leicester-fields.

Sunday (The) Observer. At the office, facing Norfolk-street, Strand.

ENGLISH COUNTRY PAPERS.

Birmingham Gazette, (*Aris's*) Thomas Pearson,
Monday.

Birmingham Chronicle, (*Swinney's*) Swinney and
Walker, Thursday.

Bristol Gazette, William Pine,
Thursday.
F f 2 Bristol

- Bristol Journal, (*Felix Farley's*) *J. Rudhall*,
Saturday.
- Bristol Journal, (*Sarah Farley's*) *Routh and Peach*,
Saturday.
- Bristol Journal, (*Bonner's*) *Samuel Bonner*,
Saturday.
- Bristol Mercury, *Bulgin and Rosser*, Monday.
- Bath Chronicle, *Richard Crutwell*, Thursday.
- Bath Journal, *Hooper and Keene's*, Monday.
- Bath Herald, *W. Meyler*, Saturday.
- Bath Register, *J. Johnson*, Saturday.
- Bury and Norwich Post, (*Printed at Bury*) *P. Gedge*,
Wednesday.
- Chester Chronicle, *John Fletcher*, Friday.
- Chester Courant, (*Adams's Weekly*) *Edmund Monk*,
Tuesday.
- Cambridge Chronicle, *Francis Hodson*,
Saturday.
- Chelmsford Chronicle, *Clackar and Co.* Friday.
- County Chronicle (*Printed in London*) *J. Wheble*,
Tuesday.
- Coventry Mercury, *Noah Rollason*, Monday.
- Cumberland Pacquet, (*Printed at Whitehaven*)
John Ware, Tuesday.
- Derby Mercury, (*Drewry's*) *John Drewry*,
Thursday.
- Dorchester and Sherborne Journal, *W. Crutwell*,
Friday.
- Doncaster (Yorkshire) Journal, *E. Sanderson*,
Saturday.
- Exeter

Exeter Flying Post, <i>Robert Trewman</i> ,	Thursday.
Exeter Journal, <i>E. Grigg</i> ,	Monday.
Exeter Gazette, <i>S. Woolmer</i> ,	Thursday.
Gloucester Journal, <i>Robert Raikes</i> ,	Monday.
Gloucester Gazette, <i>J. Pytt</i> ,	Friday.
Hampshire Chronicle, (<i>Printed at Winchester</i>) <i>J. Wilkes</i> ,	Monday.
Hampshire Journal, (<i>Printed at Winchester</i>) <i>J. Robbins</i> ,	Friday.
Hull Packet, <i>Lee and Co.</i>	Tuesday.
Hereford Journal (<i>Pugh's</i>) <i>D. Walker</i> ,	Wednesday.
Ipswich Journal, <i>Shave and Jackson</i> ,	Saturday.
Kentish Gazette, (<i>Printed at Canterbury</i>) <i>Simmons, Kirkby, and Jones</i> ,	Tuesday and Friday.
Kentish Chronicle, (<i>Printed at Canterbury</i>) <i>William Bristow</i> ,	Tuesday and Friday.
Leeds Intelligencer, <i>Thomas Wright</i> ,	Monday.
Leeds Mercury, <i>James Bowling</i> ,	Saturday.
Liverpool General Advertiser, <i>John Gore</i> ,	Thursday.
Liverpool Advertiser, <i>Thomas Billinge</i> ,	Monday.
Liverpool Weekly Herald, <i>H. Hodgson</i> ,	Saturday.
Liverpool Phoenix, <i>R. Ferguson</i> ,	Saturday.
Leicester Journal, <i>John Gregory</i> ,	Friday.
Leicester Herald, <i>R. Phillips</i> ,	Saturday.
Leicester Chronicle, <i>J. Ireland</i> ,	Friday.
Lincoln and Stamford Mercury, (<i>Printed at Stamford</i>) <i>Peat and Newcomb</i> ,	Friday.

Manchester Mercury, *James Harrop*, Tuesday.

Manchester Chronicle, *Charles Wheeler*, Saturday.

Manchester Herald, *M. Falkner and Co.*

Saturday.

Maidstone Journal, *John Blake*, Tuesday.

Newcastle Courant, *Hall and Elliott*, Saturday.

Newcastle Chronicle, *Solomon Hodgson*, Saturday.

Newcastle Advertiser, *Mat. Brown*, Saturday.

Newark Herald, *D. Holt*, Wednesday.

Northampton Mercury, *Dicey and Co.* Saturday.

Norfolk Chronicle, (*Printed at Norwich*) *Crouse and Stevenson*, Saturday.

Norwich Mercury, *Yarington and Bacon*,

Saturday.

Nottingham Journal, *George Burbage*, Saturday.

Oxford Journal, *William Jackson*, Saturday.

Reading Mercury, *Smart and Cowslade*, Monday.

Suffex Weekly-Advertiser, (*Printed at Lewes*)
W. and A. Lee, Monday.

Sherborne Mercury, *Goadby and Co.* Monday.

Salisbury and Winchester Journal, *B. C. Collins*,
Monday.

Sheffield Advertiser, *William Ward*, Friday.

Sheffield Register, *Joseph Gales*, Friday.

Shrewsbury Chronicle, *Thomas Wood*, Saturday.

Worcester Journal, (*Berrow's*) *John Tymbs*,
Thursday.

Wolverhampton Chronicle, *J. Smart*,
Wednesday.

York

No. 6.] THOMAS RUDDIMAN. 441

York Courant, *G. Peacock*, Tuesday.

York Chronicle, *William Blanchard*, Friday.

York Herald, *Wilson, Spence, and Mawman*,
Saturday.

NEWS-PAPERS published in SCOTLAND, during
the Year 1793.

Edinburgh Evening Courant, (*Printed at Edinburgh*) *David Ramsay*, Monday, Thursday, and
Saturday.

Edinburgh Gazette,* (*Printed at Edinburgh*)
Twice a Week.

Caledonian Mercury, (*Printed at Edinburgh*) *Robert Allan*, Monday, Thursday and Saturday.

Edinburgh Gazetteer, (*Printed at Edinburgh*)
William Johnston, Twice a Week.

Edinburgh Advertiser, (*Printed at Edinburgh*)
James Donaldson, Tuesday and Friday.

Edinburgh Herald, (*Printed at Edinburgh*) *Stewart, Rutbven, and Co.* Monday, Wednesday, and
Friday.

* I have just been opportunely informed, that there was an Edinburgh Gazette, published by Authority—from Tuesday the 7th, to Tuesday the 14th of December 1680.—Printed by the heir of A. Anderson, printer to the King's most sacred Majesty.—No. 2. This Edinburgh Gazette appears to have been first printed on the 1st of December, 1680: how long it continued I have not discovered.

Edinburgh Caledonian Chronicle, (*Printed at Edinburgh*) James Robertson, Twice a Week.
 Glasgow Journal, (*Printed at Glasgow*) Peter Tait, Tuesday.
 Glasgow Mercury, (*Printed at Glasgow*) Chapman and Duncan, Tuesday.
 Glasgow Advertiser, (*Printed at Glasgow*) John Menmons, Monday and Friday.
 Glasgow Courier, (*Printed at Glasgow*) W. Reid and Co. Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday.
 British Chronicle, or Union Gazette, (*Printed at Kelso*) James Palmer and Co. Friday.
 Aberdeen Journal, (*Printed at Aberdeen*) James Chalmers and Co. Monday.
 Dumfries Weekly Journal, (*Printed at Dumfries*) Robert Jackson, Tuesday.

The average number of news-papers, which were printed, in England, at the close of the late reign, was — — 9,464,790.

The number printed in 1790, was 14,035,639.

In 1791, — 14,794,153.

In 1792, — 15,005,760.

THE APPENDIX, No. 7.

A LETTER from George Nicolson, Queen Elizabeth's Ambaffador in Scotland, to Sir Robert Cecil, the Secretary of State. [The Original is in the Paper-Office: and see before, page 235.]

IT may please your honor. This daye morninge at 9 howers at that tyde the K.[ing] wrote to the chancellor, secretary, and others, and to some of the kirk; and word came hither in this maner, and the L.[ord] Secretary told me, That yesterday th' Erle of Gowry sent the M^r his brother M^r Alex^r Riven to the K.[ing] hunting in Fawkland Parke, shewing the K.[ing] that where for his adoies he had muche troubles to git treasor &c. his brother th' erle had founde in an old towre in his house at S^t Johnston's [Perth] a great treasor to helpe the K.[ing's] turne wth w^{ch} he saide his brother wolde faine have the K.[ing] to go to see quietly that day, whereon after the K.[ing] had hunted a while and taken a drink, he tooke freshe horse and discharged his company (to wit) the D.[uke] and Erle of Marr then in company wth him, taking onely a few wth him; yet the D.[uke] rode and the Erle of Marr followed, and the K.[ing] met by the way the L.[ord] of Inchchaffray who also rode wth him to S^t Johnston's, where the K.[ing] cominge, th' erle

erle meting him caryed him into his house, and gave him a good dynner, and after went to dynner wth the D.[uke] and his company, the M^r in the meane tyme of their dining perswaded the K.[ing] to go wth him quietly to see it, as the K.[ing] discharginge his company to follow, went wth the M^r from staithe to staithe and chamber to chamber locking still the doors behinde him untill he came to a chamber where a man was, w^{ch} the K.[ing] thought had ben the man had kept the treasor. There the M^r cleked hold on the K.[ing] and drew his dagger, sayeing he had killed his father, and he wolde kill him; the K.[ing] wth good wordes and meanes sought to diswaide him, sayeing he was younge when his father was executed and dyvers others honest men, that he was innocent thereof, had restored his brother, and for amends made him greater then he was, that if he killed him, he could not eschape, nor be his heir; That he presumed M^r Alexander had learned more divinity than to kill his Prince; assuringe him, and faithfully promising him, that if he wold leave of his enterprice he wold forgive him, and kepe it secrett as a matter attempted upon heate and rasheness onely. That to these the M^r replied, what was he preachinge, that should not helpe him, he should dye, and that therewith he stroke at the K.[ing] the K.[ing] and he bothe going to the ground, that the M^r called to the man there present to kill the K.[ing] That

That the man answered, he had nether harte nor hand, and yet is a very curragiouse man, that the K.[ing] having no dagger, but in his hunting cloths wth his horne yet defended himself from the M^r and in strugling got to the windowe where he cryed treason, w^{ch} S^r Tho^s Erskin, John Ramsay, and Doctor Harris, hearing ran up after the K.[ing] but found the doors shutt as they could not passe, yet John Ramsay knowing another way got up and in to the K.[ing] who cryed to John he was flaine, whereon John out wth his rapier and killed the M^r; in this tyme that th' erle should tell the duke, Marr, and the rest, that the K.[ing] was gone away, out at a back gate, that they ran out and Gowry wth him, and missing him that th' erle saide he wold go back and see where the K.[ing] was, that he wth 8 wth him, wth a steele bonnett and two rapiers ran up the staires, that John Ramsay, meting them wth drawn swordes, S^r Tho^s Erskin and Doctor Harris being then comed to John, after sondry strokes in the end killed the erle also, S^r Thomas being hurt and Doctor Harris mutulate and wanting 2 fingers. That this stir being, the townes men and Gowrie's frends in evil appearance said, they wold have accompt where th' erle was, or they wold pay the grene cotes, to pacifie w^{ch} the D.[uke] and Mar, were sent to the magistrates and so quieted the matter, as the K.[ing] and his company gott away, the K.[ing] thanking
God

God for his deliverance, and yesternight knight-
ed as I heare John Ramsay and Doctor Harris,
but the secretary told it not me *. Upon these
news comed from the court, the whole council
here convened, and in end at one of the clock
rose and came all to the market crosse, and there
by sound of trumpett intimated but in bref the
happie eschape of the K.[ing] and their act that
they made in council for the people to thank
God for it, and in joy thereof to ring bells and
build bone fires; M^r David Lindsay standing
with the council on the crosse made a pithy and
short exhortation to the people to prayse God
for it, and therewth praied and praised God for
the same, the whole council on their knees on
the crosse, and whole people in the stretes in like
forte, the peces of the castle also shotte in joye,
the few bells yet ringing, the youthes of the towne
gone out to skirmish for joye and bone fires to
be bilded at night. And the council to go this
tyde over to the K.[ing] for further deliberation
in this matter. The K.[ing] at his retorne to
Fawkland presentlie cause thrust out of the house
from the Q.[ueen] Gowrie's two sisters in cheif
credyt wth the Quene, and swears to roote out
that whole house and name: upon the conveninge
of the council the portes of the towne were shutt
for apprehendinge Gowrie's other brethren, and

* M^r James Hamilton is this day gone to England.

the lands are to be given to these new knights and others. This is the information and reporte comed yet hither by the K.[ing's] command, w^{ch} some yet doubted to be fully so; what will follow I remit to the sequell; being glad the K.[ing] is safe without hurte. Gowrie's secretary is taken, and matters hope to be discovered by him. Some false lyenge villains gave it out I should have ben this day morne at Leith by 3 of the clock, and should say, being asked by one, that I was there attending strange newes from beyond the water. I tolde the secretarie of it, that it was false, as God be thanked it is, and that if I were charged by any such devilish devices, I wold refuse no deboshed fwinger or bloody villaine that should be so suborned to put doubt towards me; praying the secretarie to remember it and say it for me, if he hard it. That your honor sees how the malicious here spite me, in what danger I live, and how subject I am to all accusation here, and some practising knaves wold whisper it that this plot should be drawne and divised in other parts, *England* *. But thus much for this tyme in haste, wth myne humble duty & service. I pray God preserve yo^r hon^r. Edenburgh the 6th of August 1600.

Yo^r honor's &c. &c.

GEO. NICOLSON,

I have no copie of this.

* This word is interlined.

MEM.—This must be allowed to be a very interesting letter; as it exhibits a striking picture of that singular transaction, at the moment, and of the manners of the times. In it we see, that the King had on a hunting-horn; that the King and his attendants wore *grene cotes*; and that the Earl of Gowrie's two sisters lived in the palace, at the moment of the conspiracy, and were *in cheif credyt with the Quene*. The foregoing *dispatch* of Nicolson proves very clearly, that Queen Elizabeth had *no finger in that pye*, particularly when Nicolson's declarations are coupled with the subjoined

LETTER from Lord Willoughby, Queen Elizabeth's governor of Berwick, to Sir Robert Cecil. [The Original is in the Paper-Office.]

SIR,

I received your packet to M^r Hudson the 18th of this month, and another to M^r Ralph Gray this morning both which I have dispatched accordingly, but such is the negligence of the posts that the packetts are 7 or 8 dayes in coming. For occurens yt is uncertain, whether the convention hold, but the King is resolved to have bishops: The Marquis of Huntley have reconciled

ciled the King and Queen. The Erle of Mar is retired to Stirling, who hath very dishonorably suggested [to] the King, that I was privy to the practice of the Earl of Goury: his reason to induce him to believe yt was, because I gave the said earle kind entertainment at his being at London. Other newes hear is none, but that the contry is in very good quiet, which course I will endeavour to continue in the town to my utmost. But such are the contentions of the council heer that unless S^r Will. Bowes had carried himself very discreetly and I myself presently prevented yt, they had quarrelled in my bed chamber, being at council. Thus, not willing to trouble you any further, I rest

Yo^r faithfully assured

Berwick, this

to doe you service,

21 October 1600,

P. WYLLOUGHBY.

MEM. There is bound up with the foregoing letters, "The true discourse of the late treason attempted against his Majesty's royal person, by the late Earl of Gowry, and his brother Mr. Alexander Ruthven, the 5th August 1600."

THE APPENDIX, No. 8.

A LIST of the Books, which were printed by Thomas Ruddiman. It is as extensive a List as I could make, without the inspection of the account-books of the printing-office. — See before, p. 272. — John Cook was the corrector of Ruddiman's press, in 1737; but, when he began, or how long he continued, in that service, I am unable to tell.

THIS year [1715] Thomas Ruddiman first began to print. And, in this year, he printed the one half of the second volume of “The Martial Atchievements of the Scots Nation: Being a full, complete, and genuine History of Scotland, from the Year of God 1329, to the Year 1514; with a clear and demonstrative Confutation of the Errors of former Writers, whether domestic or foreign: And a Survey of the Military Transactions, wherein Scotland or Scotsmen were remarkably concerned, during that Period of Time. — By Patrick Abercromby, M. D. vol. 2,

“ Hic manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi :

“ Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo.

“ Hic

“ Hic quibus invisi fratres, dum vita manebat,

“ Pulsatusque parens:—

——“ Quique Arma secuti

“ Impia; nec veriti dominorum fallere dextras.

“ VIRG. *Æneid.* Lib. 6.”

Edinburgh, printed by Mr. Robert Freebairn,
printer to the King's most excellent Majesty, and
sold at his shop in the Parliament-Clofs, MDCCXV,
pp. 545.

The Dignity of the Scottish Peerage vindi-
cated. Edinburgh, printed in the year MDCCXIX,
4to. pamphlet, pp. 32.

Poems: by Allan Ramfay.

Let them censure, what care I?

The herd of critics I defy.

No, no, the fair, the gay, the young,

Govern the numbers of my song:

All that they approve is sweet,

And all is sense that they repete.

PRIOR, from Anacreon.

Edinburgh: printed by Mr. Thomas Ruddi-
man, for the author, MDCCXXI. 4to. pp. 400.

Epistolæ Jacobi Quarti, Jacobi Quinti, et
Mariæ, Regum Scotorum, Eorumque Tutorum
& Regni Gubernatorum; Ad Imperatores, Reges,
Pontifices, Principes, Civitates, & alios, ab Anno
1505, ad Annum 1545.—Interjectæ sunt quædam
exterorum Principum ac Virorum illustrium li-
teræ. Vol. 1.—Edinburgi: In Ædibus Thomæ
Ruddimanni. Prostant venales apud M. Ja-

G g

cobum

cobum M'Euen, Georgium Stewart & Joannem Paton. MDCCXXII. 8vo. pp. 360.

Ovidij Decerpta ex Metamorphoseôn libris, Notis Anglicis Gul. Willymotti et Thomæ Rudimanni. Edin. MDCCXXIII. 12mo.

The Ever-Green, being a Collection of Scots Poems, wrote by the Ingenious before 1600. Vol. 1. published by Allan Ramsay.

Still green with bays each ancient altar stands,
Above the reach of sacrilegious hands,
Secure from flames, from envy's fiercer rage,
Destructive war and all-devouring age.

POPE.

Edinburgh: printed by Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, for the publisher, at his shop near the Cross, MDCCXXIV. 12mo. pp. 272.

The Ever-Green, being a Collection of Scots Poems, wrote by the Ingenious before 1600. Vol. 2.

Quha dar presume thir poetis to impung,
Quhais sentence sweit throw Albion bin sung.

SIR D. LINDSAY.

Edinburgh: printed by Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, for Allan Ramsay, MDCCXXIV. 12mo. pp. 288.

Epistolæ Jacobi Quarti, Jacobi Quinti, et Mariæ, Regum Scotorum, Eorumque Tutorum & Regni Gubernatorum; Ad Imperatores, Reges, Pontifices, Principes, Civitates, & alios, ab
Anno

Anno 1505, ab Annum 1545. Interjectæ sunt quædam exterorum Principum ac Virorum illustrium literæ. Vol. 2.—Huic Volumini in Calce subjuncta est *Appendix* quorundam Actorum publicorum, Historiam Scoticam, per primum ferè Mariæ Reginaë quinquennium, magnopere illustrans.—Edinburgi: In Ædibus Thomæ Ruddimanni. Prostant venales apud M. Jacobum Mackeuen, Georgium Stewart & Joannem Paton, MDCCXXIV. 8vo. pp. 395.

ΗΡΩΔΙΑΝΟΥ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΒΙΒΛΙΑ Η. HERO-
DIANI HISTORIARUM, Libri VIII. Ad optimorum codicum fidem summo studio recogniti et Emendati.—Præmissa est M. ANTONINI PHILOSOPHI Vita, à Jo. XIPHILINO Conscripta.—Edinburgi: In Ædibus THOMÆ RUDDIMANNI, Sumptibus Jo. Patoni, Bibliopolæ in Areâ Parliamentariâ, MDCCXXIV. 8vo. pp. 313.

Grammaticæ Latinæ Institutiones, Facili, atque ad Puerorum captum accommodatâ, Methodo perscriptæ. Additæ sunt, in Provectionum gratiam, Notæ perpetuæ: Quibus non Solum Latini sermonis Præcepta plenius explicantur, sed & ea pleraque omnia, quæ à summis Grammaticis aliisque ad hanc Artem illustrandam sunt observata, succinctè simul perspicuèque traduntur.—Perfecit, & suis Animadversionibus auxit, Thomas Ruddimannus, A. M.—Pars Prima.—Qui ante nos ista moverunt, non domini nostri, sed duces

funt. Patet omnibus veritas; nondum est occupata: multum ex illa etiam futuris relictum est.

SENEC.

Corrigenda si qua sanè visa vobis hinc errunt;
Non ero stultè repugnans, aut amans pravè mea,
Quim statim culpanda delens, præbeam rectis locum.

TER. MAURUS.

Edinburgi: In Ædibus Auctoris, MDCCXXV.
8vo. pp. 329.

Collections relating to the History of Mary Queen of Scotland, vol. 3. Edinburgh: printed by Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, MDCCXXVII, 4to. pp. 255.

Cantici Solomonis Paraphrasis Gemina; Prior vario Carminum genere, altera Sapphiciis versibus perscripta.—Notis Criticis & Philologicis illustrata.—Auctore Joanne Kerro Dunblanensi, Græcarum Literarum in Collegio Regio Universitatis Aberdonensis Professore. Edinburgi: In Ædibus Tho. Ruddimanni, Impensis Auctoris, MDCCXXVII, 12mo, pp. 96.

Poems: by Allan Ramfay.

Men still are men, and they who boldly dare,
Shall triumph o'er the sons of cold despair.—
We bring some new materials; and what's old,
New cast with care, and in no borrow'd mold,
Late times the verse may read, if these refuse,
And from four criticks vindicate the muse.

DR. YOUNG,

Vol. 2. — Edinburgh: printed by Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, for the Author, MDCCXXVIII.
4to, pp. 428.

The

The Trial of James Carnegie of Finhaven, for the murder of Charles, Earl of Strathmore.—Edin. printed by Mr. Tho. and Walt. Ruddimans, and sold at their printing-house, in the Parliament-Close, An. MDCCXXIX. 4to. pp. 125.

Grammaticæ Latinæ Institutiones, Facili, atque ad Puerorum captum accommodatâ, Methodo perscriptæ.—Additæ sunt, in Provectiorum gratiam, Notæ perpetuæ: Quibus non solum Latini sermonis Præcepta plenius explicantur, sed & ea pleraque omnia, quæ à summis Grammaticis aliisque ad hanc Artem illustrandam sunt observata, succinctè simul perspicueque traduntur. Perfecit, & suis Animadversionibus auxit, Thomas Ruddimannus, A. M.—Pars Secunda.—Pessimè de pueris merentur præceptores, qui aut regulas nullas tradunt, aut certè statim abjiciunt, & magnificè promittunt, fore, ut usu loquendi discantur Constructiones. Nam illi qui non norunt regulam, etiamsi legunt exempla in auctori- bus linguæ, tamen loqui non satis audent, quia non habent certam rationem, ad quam dirigant compositionem verborum.—Quare publicè debe- bant in tales Præceptores pœnæ constitui, qui Præcepta fastidiunt. Omnino enim danda est opera, ut tamdiu in ipsa arte detineantur adoles- centes, donec perfecti Grammatici, donec Archi- tecti Sermonis, & absoluti artifices evaserint.

PH. MELANCHTON.
Edinburgi: In Ædibus Auctoris, MDCCXXXI.
8vo. pp. 388.

Two Grammatical Treatises: viz.

1st. Animadversions on the Latin Grammar, lately published by Mr. Robert Trotter, Schoolmaster at Dumfries. By Mr. John Love, Schoolmaster at Dumbarton.

2dly. A Dissertation upon the Way of Teaching the Latin Tongue: wherein the Objections raised against Mr. Ruddiman's, and other such like Grammars, for their being too full and particular, are answered and confuted; and the vulgar Practice of teaching Latin by a Grammar writ in the same Language, is justified and defended. Together with some Critical Remarks on the New Latin Grammar, composed by Mr. John Clarke, Schoolmaster at Hull. And on the use he would have to be made of his literal Translations. By another Hand.

———— Brevis esse laboro,
Obscurus fio.
Interdum vulgus rectum videt.—

HORAT.

Edinburgh: Printed in the year MDCCXXXIII.
8vo. pp. 119.

Remarks on Mr. Innes's Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of the Northern Parts of Britain or Scotland. Edinburgh: Printed by Tho. and Wal. Ruddimans, MDCCXXXIII. 4to. pp. 32.

The History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland, from the Beginning of the Reformation,

formation, in the Reign of King James V. to the Retreat of Queen Mary into England, Anno 1568. Taken from the public Records, and other authentic Vouchers. — Volume 1. — Edinburgh: Printed by Thomas and Walter Ruddimans, for George Stewart and Alexander Symmer, Undertakers, and sold by them and Gavin Hamilton, Bookfellers. MDCCXXXIV, folio, pp. 858.

A Treatise concerning the Origin and Progress of Fees; or, The Constitution and Transmission of Heritable Rights: being a Supplement to Spotiswood's Introduction to the Knowledge of the Stile of Writs.

——— Si quid novisti rectius istis,
Candidus imperti: si non, his utere mecum.

HOR.

Edinburgh: printed by T. and W. Ruddiman. Sold by J. Aitken, at his shop in the Parliament-House, and other Bookfellers in Town, MDCCXXXIV. 8vo. pp. 276.

Georgij Buchanani, Scoti, Poëtarum sui seculi facilè Principis *Paraphrasis* Psalmorum Davidis Poetica.—Cum Alexandri Julij, Edinburgeni, Ecphrasi; et Notis integris Cl. virorum Thomæ Ruddimanni, & Petri Burmanni; Selectisque Nathanis Chytræi Scholijs: quibus suas quoque Adnotationes adjecerunt *Editores*. Edinburgi: Apud T. and W. Ruddimannos: Venales prostant apud Gul. Sands, aliosque Bibliopolas, MDCCXXXVII. 8vo, pp. 432.

An Essay on the Antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland: wherein they are placed in a clearer light than hitherto. Designed as an introduction to a larger work, especially an attempt to shew an affinity betwixt the languages, &c. of the ancient Britains and the Americans of the isthmus of Darien. In answer to an objection against revealed religion.

Quanta Caledonios attollet gloria campos.

STAT.

I have a great deal more pleasure in inquiring into the antiquities and curiosities of my own country than of any other, even those of ancient Greece and Rome.

REP. OF LETTERS, Feb. 1738.

Edinburgh: printed by T. and W. Ruddimans; and sold by A. Kincaid, Bookseller. MDCCCXXXVIII. 8vo.

Linguae Græcæ Institutiones Grammaticæ. In Vsum studiosæ Juventutis. — Editio Tertia. — Edinburgi: apud Tho. & Walt. Ruddimannos: & venales prostant apud And. Stalker, Glasguæ, & And. Millar, Londini, in Vico *The Strand* dicto, exadversum D. Clementis ædem, Bibliopolas. MDCCCXXXVIII. 8vo, pp. 144.

Articles of Agreement betwixt the Professors and Teachers; or who have been such, of the Liberal Arts and Sciences, and Branches and Parts thereof, within the City of Edinburgh, Liberties, Suburbs, and Dependencies thereof; 2 February 1737. Edinburgh: printed by Thomas

mas and Walter Ruddimans. MDCCXXXIX. 8vo, pp. 23.

Poetarum Scotorum Musæ Sacræ: five Quatuor Sacri Codicis Scriptorum, Davidis & Solomonis, Jobi & Jeremiæ, Poëtici Libri, per totidem Scotos, Arct. Jonstonum & Jo. Kerrum, P. Adamsonum & G. Hogæum, Latino carmine redditi: Quibus, ab argumenti similitudinem, adnectuntur alia, Scotorum itidem, opuscula sacra. — Summo quæque studio recognita, & ad fidem optimorum exemplarium expressa. Edinburgi: apud Tho. and Wal. Ruddimanos. MDCCXXXIX, 8vo, pp. 208.

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Selectus

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clarissimo Viro Thoma Paterfono Armigero. Edinburgi: apud Tho. & Walt. Ruddimannos. Venales autem prostant, Londini apud eundem Tho. Paterfonum, in Vico vulgo *Conduit Street* dicto, propè *Hanover-Square*, & And. Millar, in Vico *The Strand*, è regione ædis D. Clementis, ad insigne Capitis Buchananæi; & Edinburgi apud Gavinum Hamilton, Bibliopolam. MDCCXXXIX. Folio.

A Catalogue of the Library of the Faculty of Advocates, Edinburgh. Part the First.—Edinburgh: printed by Thomas, Walter, and Thomas Ruddimans. MDCCXLII. Folio.

The History of the House and Race of Douglas and Angus. Written by Mr. David Hume of Godscroff. Volume 1. pp. 388, containing the History of the House of Douglas. And volume 2. containing the History of the House of Angus. Edinburgh: printed by T. W. and T. Ruddimans, for L. Hunter; and sold by him, and other booksellers in Town. MDCCXLIII. 8vo, pp. 422.

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Non quivis videt immodulata poemata iudex.

HOR.

*Hæc memini, & victum frustra contendere Thyrsin:
Ex illo Corydon, Corydon est tempore nobis.*

VIRG.

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Quæ Cæsaris Cæsari.

LUC. xxii. 25.

Ἐκ δὲ Διὸς Βασιλῆες.—

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Inventus, Chrysippe, tui finitur acervi.

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Intolerabilis fit malitia, cum laudatur.

SIMONIDES.

Veritas Occultari ad tempus potest, vinci non potest.

D. AUGUSTINUS.

Qui Bavium non odit, amet tua carmina Mævi.

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Semper ego auditor tantum? Nunquamne reponam,
Vexatus toties? ——— JUVENAL.

Non modò accusator, sed ne quidem objurga-
tor ferendus est is, qui, quod in altero vitium re-
prehendit, in eo ipse deprehenditur. CIC.

Malefacere qui vult, nusquam non causam invenit.

SYR.

Vis consilii expers, mole ruat suâ.

HOR.

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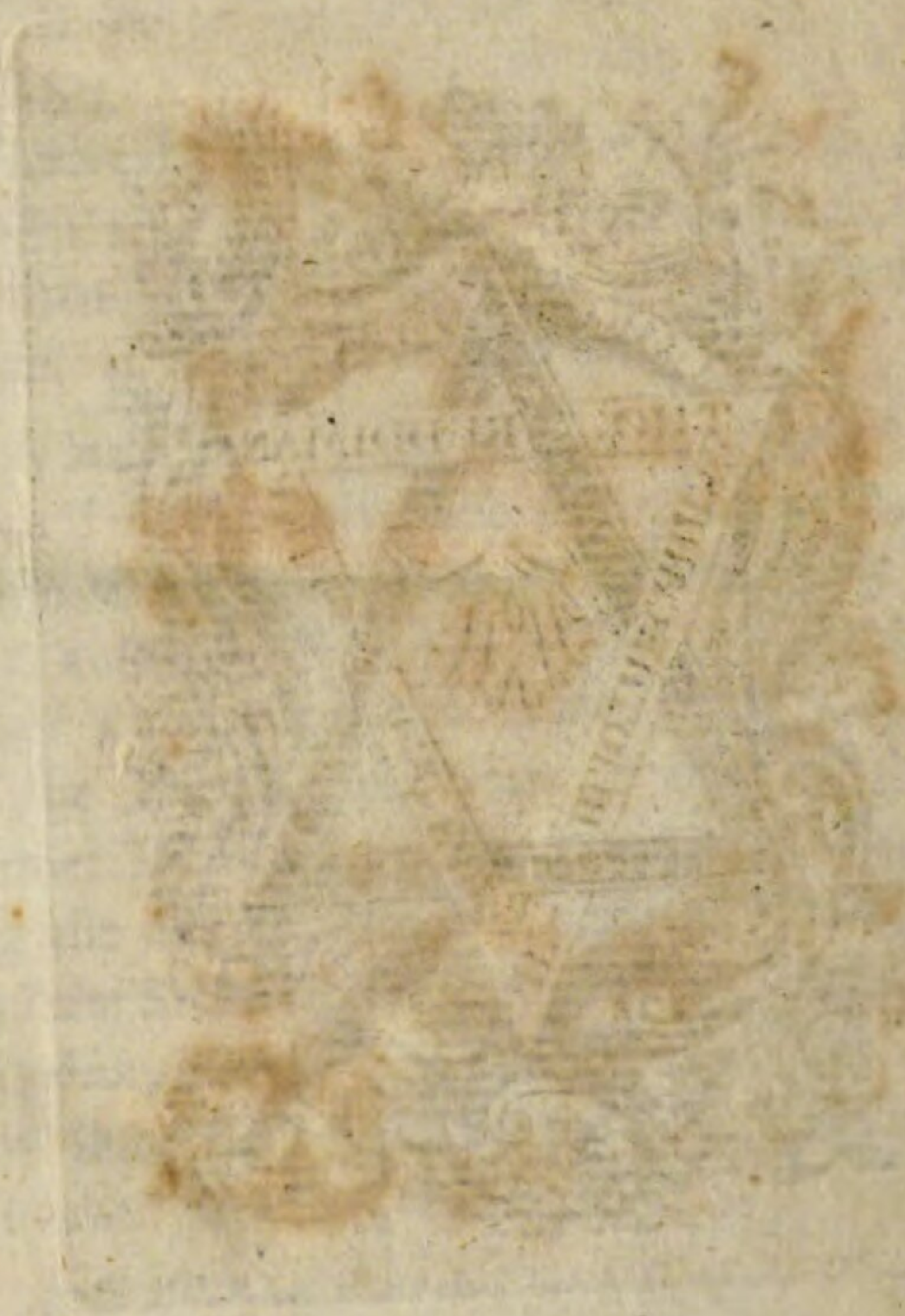
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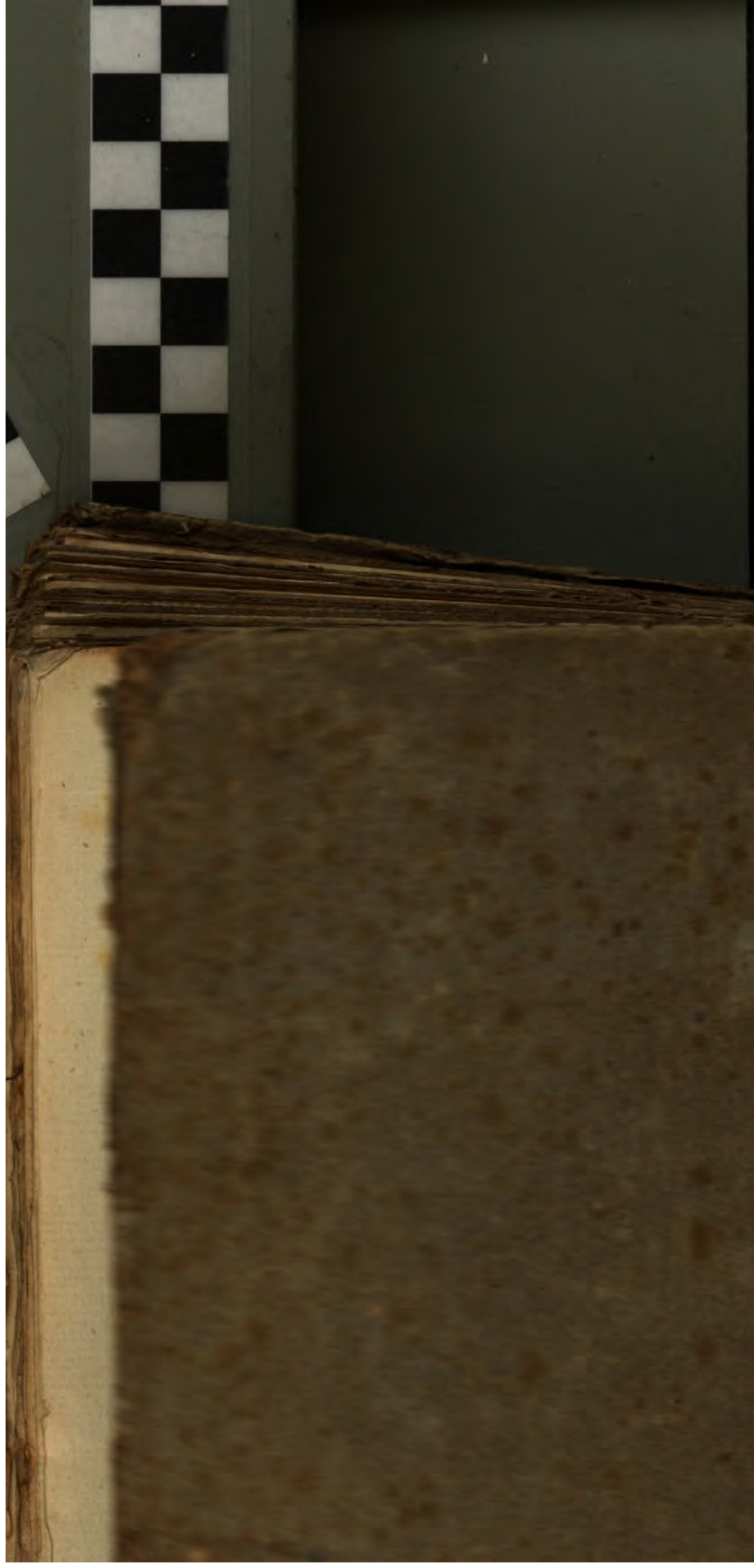
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